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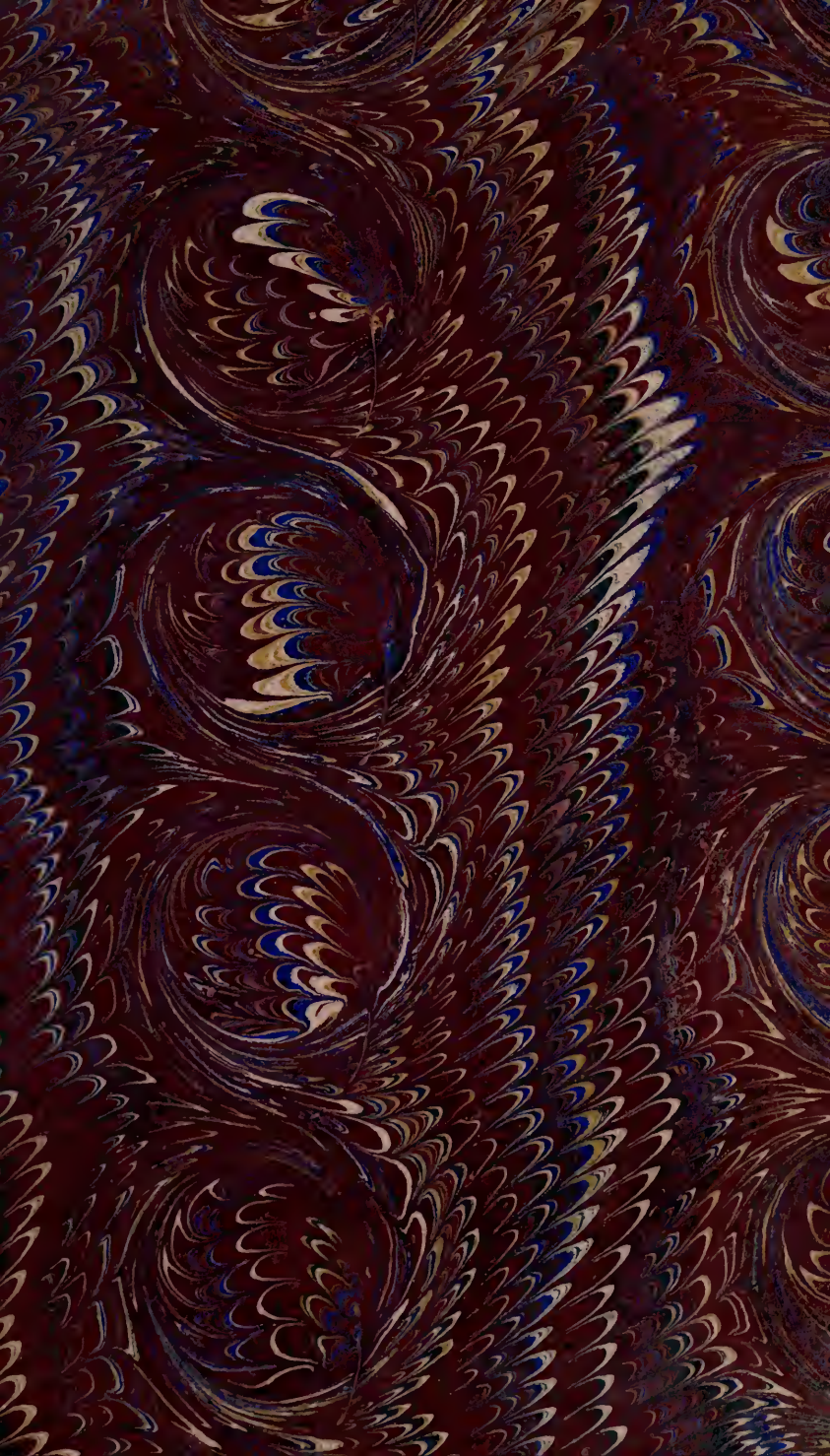


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INFANT-BAPTISM CONSIDERED,

IN

A CHARGE

DELIVERED BY

RICHARD WHATELY, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

INFANT-BAPTISM CONSIDERED,

IN

A CHARGE

DELIVERED

AT THE TRIENNIAL VISITATION OF THE PROVINCE
OF DUBLIN,

IN JULY, 1850.

BY

RICHARD WHATELY, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

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TO THE REVERED MEMORY OF

EDWARD COPLESTON, D.D.

LATE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF,

THIS TRACT,

THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS PRINCIPALLY DERIVED

FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM,

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH AFFECTIONATE AND SORROWING VENERATION,

BY HIS ATTACHED PUPIL AND FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

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INFANT BAPTISM.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

It will, I presume, be expected that, on an occasion such as the present, I should advert to the contests respecting points of christian doctrine which have been lately agitating—and, indeed, are still agitating—our Church: contests which have doubtless excited the exulting scorn, not only of infidels, but also of many of those Christians of various denominations, whose zeal for their own sect or church outweighs their regard for the Universal Church of Christ, and in whom party-spirit has nearly swallowed up the true spirit of the Gospel.¹

¹ Among others, we must expect to find some of the members of a Church, which professes to be, not a branch, but the whole, of *the* Catholic, i. e., *Universal* Church, (and which, if so, must comprehend *all* Christians, of whatever various denominations,) taunting other Churches (parts of itself, supposing its pretensions just) with their internal dissensions, and representing its (alleged) exemption from discord, and prompt condemnation of all departures from the system laid down, as a mark of divine truth.

Most of the persons to whom such reasoning is addressed will not know, or will not recollect, that this mark belonged most emphatically to Pagan Rome under the persecuting emperors, and to Babylon when Nebuchadnezzar set up his “image of gold.” They decreed, and promptly executed their decrees, that whosoever refused to worship as commanded, should be cast into the fire.

On the incompatibility of the two claims, to *universality*, and

Evils connected with religious dissensions.

And proportionate must be the grief felt by those of the most truly christian character—whether in our own communion, or in any other—at the spectacle of dissensions among professing Christians, and of the evil passions which are almost always called forth and displayed on such occasions.

I have said, “called forth and displayed,” because one cannot but reflect—and it is one of the most mortifying reflections suggested by the circumstances attendant on any kind of controversy—that the evil dispositions thus called into action must have *existed* before, in persons in whom perhaps they had never been suspected.

Evil dispositions not created by a contest.

Uncharitable bigotry, unscrupulous and reckless party-spirit, spiritual pride, revengefulness, malice, and the like, are not dispositions which could be suddenly *created*, though they may be suddenly aroused and called into activity (and also fostered and increased) by the excitement of a contest. They must have been in existence already;—unknown, probably, to the agents themselves, as well as to the bystanders;—under an appearance, perhaps, of christian meekness, and candour, and charity.¹ When

to exemption from *divisions and errors*, I have treated formerly, in works, from which extracts are subjoined in the Appendix (A).

¹ In the course of the controversy now alluded to, the insolence of tone and unchristian acrimony displayed by some of the

a pool of transparent water, and which seemingly contains no impurity, becomes, on being *agitated*, suddenly turbid and foul, we are certain that the offensive impurities thus thrown up are not called into *existence* by that agitation, but must have been lying at the bottom during the period of tranquillity and apparent purity.

And even so, we are compelled to admit the mortifying conclusion, that the faults and follies which we see stirred up by an agitating contest, must have been all along latent in the breast of many a one who had been regarded by others, and probably by himself, as of a far different character.

What any one's conduct *would* be under each particular kind of trial, none but the Searcher of hearts can know with complete certainty before the trial is actually made. It is for us, especially to examine and distrust *ourselves*,—to keep a vigilant guard over our own hearts,—and to act on the apostolic precept, “let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.”

As for the particular contest I have now been alluding to, I shall abstain from entering on any discussion of the merits of the decisions which have been pronounced, further than to remark upon one mis-

Misapprehension relative to recent decisions.

disputants have been severely and justly censured by some of their opponents, who have yet themselves been guilty, to at least an equal degree, of the very same faults.

conception of them which I have observed to be not a little prevalent. The recent sentence, which has attracted so much public attention, was not, as several persons seem to have apprehended, a decision as to the soundness or unsoundness of such and such views of a Scripture-doctrine, but on a very different question. That question was, whether the maintainers of a certain tenet are, as such, *excluded from holding office* in our Church;—whether our Formularies are so distinct and decisive on the point, as in fact to *excommunicate* all who hold that tenet. And the decision actually given—*be it a right or a wrong one*—is one which might conceivably have been given (without any just imputation of inconsistency) by judges who did not themselves entertain such views.

Thus much, at least, is what no one, I conceive, will, on reflection, at all doubt: that if the opinions of the contending parties had been *reversed*, and a candidate for Institution had been rejected on the ground of his *not* holding the doctrines which were recently objected to as heterodox, the decision would have been, at least as promptly as in the present case, given in his favour. For it ought to be remembered, that in the case of any *penal* enactment, the established rule is, to incline always (where any doubt exists) towards the most lenient interpretation. And exclusion from a Benefice is evidently of the character of a penalty.

As for the degree of latitude that is to be

allowed in the interpretation of the articles and formularies of a Church, it would be manifestly impossible to lay down any general rule that would be a sufficient guide in all particular cases. But every one must admit, I conceive, that there is a just medium which should be aimed at (however men may differ in fixing that medium in each individual instance) between excessive strictness and excessive laxity. For, on the one hand, if each of us should insist on excluding from church-membership all who did not fully coincide with himself in the precise interpretation of every passage in our Formularies, and in every inference which appeared to him fairly deducible from such interpretation, it can hardly be doubted that the result would be a virtual division of the Church into several different Churches, mutually excommunicating each other. And yet it is no less evident, on the other hand, that if, through dread of such a result, we should adopt the principle, that every one is to be at liberty to assign to our Formularies whatever meaning he may think fit, interpreting them in any "non-natural" sense that may suit his own views, no form of religion, or of irreligion—atheism not excepted—would be excluded.¹ Our

*Strictness
and laxity in
the interpretation
of formularies.*

¹ As this may perhaps appear to some of my readers an exaggerated statement, I have subjoined in the Appendix (B) some remarks in confirmation of it, extracted from works published several years ago.

Church would be ONE in nothing but in name ; and language would have completely failed of the very object for which language exists—to convey an intelligible sense.

The medium between these opposite extremes we must expect to find, in practice, placed somewhat differently by different persons. But thus much, at least, may in fairness be required of all—that whatever degree of strictness, or of laxity, of interpretation, each person may deem right, he should allow as right for *all* men alike ; and that he should not have one rule for himself, and those who agree with him, and another rule for such as may think differently.

Self-evident as is the justice of this maxim, no one will think the mention of it superfluous who considers how widely it has been departed from by many persons of opposite parties. One may hear the most vehement and indignant censures pronounced, and that from both sides, on such as put a forced and unnatural interpretation on the language of such and such portions of our Formularies, while the complainants themselves are no less boldly explaining away the language of certain other portions into a conformity with their own views.¹

¹ One among many instances that might be given of this kind of unfairness, is, the conduct of some persons who, at public meetings, and in various other ways, have been protesting against the disingenuousness of those who depart from the plain sense of our Formularies, though they not only never expressed any dis-

Whatever allowance may be made for sincere errors of judgment, one cannot but regard those as self-condemned who adopt without scruple, in their own favour, a mode of procedure which, in their opponents, they loudly condemn as disingenuous.

As for the particular questions—*Questions relative to regeneration.* those relating to Regeneration—which have been of late so much agitated, it is evident that the full discussion of them, were I otherwise disposed to enter on it, would far exceed the limits of such an occasion as this. But I consider it as most important to remark that, among many persons (I do not say *all*) who are in language very much opposed to each other on this point, the opposition is much greater in appearance than in reality. They are engaged, without being aware of it, in a controversy chiefly, if not altogether, verbal.

Now, it must be regarded by all who possess anything of a genuine christian spirit as a most desirable object, to obviate as far as possible all unnecessary dissensions among Christians, and to bring to a mutual good understanding, as nearly as can be done without compromise of truth, “all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.”

approbation of the celebrated Tract 90, and other such publications, but even (some of them) protested publicly against the condemnation of these by the University of Oxford! I have subjoined in the Appendix (C) a few extracts from that Tract, as it may perhaps not be in the hands of some of my readers.

For besides the immediate dangers to those who are themselves engaged in any controversy, there is this additional danger also to the christian People generally, that many of them will be disposed to say, "Here are questions which are declared by all to be of vital importance, yet on which the most learned Divines are not agreed. If men apparently pious, and of far greater knowledge and ability than ours, find so much difficulty in understanding the sense of Scripture on these points, what is to them a difficulty, must be to *us* an impossibility; and Scripture can therefore contain no *Revelation*, properly so called, or, at least, no Revelation to the mass of mankind." And the result of these reflections will often be, that some will betake themselves to some supposed infallible Church or person,¹ to whose guidance they will implicitly resign themselves; while others will be, by the same cause, led into infidelity. They see that there *is* no such infallible and universally accessible guide on earth.² And moreover, that if there were, it could not possibly be *ascertained* by men incompetent (by supposition) to exercise private judgment, and who consequently could never have any good reason for trusting that their own private judgment could rightly decide that most difficult question—*who* is the appointed guide?

¹ See the *Search after Infallibility*.

² See Lesson VI. on *Religious Worship*.

And they accordingly reject the belief of any divine revelation at all.

It is doubly important, therefore, to point out—when this can be done with truth—how far difficulties and disputes may have been either *created or aggravated by Theologians* themselves, either from their seeking to explain more than God has thought fit to reveal,¹ or from interpreting Scripture according to the technical phraseology of some theological school, or from overlooking variations in the senses in which several words are employed, and thus introducing confusion of thought and undetected verbal controversy.

The terms “regenerate,” and “re-generation” [or New-birth] are commonly employed (as I have remarked in a work which has been now for many years well known to the Public) in different senses by different persons.² “Regeneration” denotes, in the language of some, merely that *admission* to christian advantages and privileges which is the necessary *preliminary* to a christian life. Others employ it to signify the condition into which a man is brought by that *use* of those advantages and privileges which constitutes a decided christian character. And “regenerate,”

*Verbal
controversy
arising from
ambiguous
terms.*

¹ See *Lessons on Religious Worship*, Lesson VII., §§ 1, 2. See also, *Discourse on the Shepherds at Bethlehem*.

² See *Logic*. Appendix, Article “Regeneration.”

accordingly, is applied by these persons, respectively, to conditions as widely different as that of a new-born infant, and of a fully formed adult.

Without attempting to enter into a minute discussion of *all* the modifications of meaning that have ever been attached to these words, we may, at least, recognise the employment of them in the two widely different senses just mentioned. And not only by different persons, but sometimes even by the same, these words (as well as several others) will be found to be occasionally used in different significations. Undesignedly, and unconsciously, a person will sometimes, even at a short interval, slide from one sense to another of some of the expressions he is employing.

Now, whatever may be the importance of adhering to the most correct use of any term, and whichever may be, in this instance, the more correct, it is surely the first point—the first in order, and the first also in importance—to perceive distinctly the ambiguity that actually does exist, and to keep clear of the many injurious misapprehensions which may arise from attributing to those who use a term in one sense, conclusions which depend on its employment in a different sense.

For example, a person may be exposed to a groundless imputation of leading men into a vain and dangerous reliance on baptismal privileges, and of teaching them that all who have been duly baptized are in a satisfactory and safe state; when,

perhaps, in fact, he may have never said or implied anything of the kind, but may have merely been using the word "regenerate" according to what *he* regards as the most scriptural usage; and then has had imputed to him inferences which *would* have followed if he had employed the word in quite another sense.¹ And, perhaps, it may turn out, on calm investigation, that such a person, and some who had at first been disposed very strongly to censure him, do not in reality disagree to any considerable extent as to the substance of the doctrines they maintain.

For let any one but consider—and this is an inquiry well becoming those who would cherish a

¹ I have seen something like such an imputation thrown out in a work which, several years ago, obtained some popularity. It was professedly a description (veiled under a slight tale) of various prevailing religious opinions and modes of conduct; and some of the pictures drawn were both just and striking. But among others, a careless clergyman is introduced deprecating any anxiety felt by any of his people about their spiritual state, and saying, that "of course all Christians will be saved; and whoever is baptized is a Christian."

Now I feel convinced, from long experience and attentive observation, that there is no ground for such an imputation: I mean, that it is not true (as is evidently meant to be implied) that there exists any party, school, or class of men among our clergy—even the worst of them—who teach such a doctrine. Yet it is probable that the representation was not designedly untrue, but was an "idle word," originating in a misconception, such as I have been alluding to, as the result of a hasty and inconsiderate interpretation of another's expressions, and of rash inferences therefrom.

Points of agreement between those at variance in their expressions.

spirit of christian charity—how much there may be of agreement, and that on the most essential practical points, between men who, at the first glance, might appear widely opposed, and who, perhaps, are inclined to think hardly of each other. Two persons accustomed to employ the word “regeneration” in the different senses, respectively, which have been just alluded to, may agree in reverencing the Rite of Baptism, and in administering it according to the same rules; both may be accustomed, also, to warn men that we must not place an indolent confidence in Gospel privileges; and that to have been enrolled as members of Christ’s Church is an advantage, for the use of which we are responsible, and which will but increase the condemnation of such as do not “walk worthy of their vocation.” Both may teach that (in the words of our 16th Article) “after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin; and, by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives.”¹ And they may agree in teaching that “God desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live;” and in exhorting every one who does live a careless, an irreligious, or a vicious life, to repent, and seek Divine mercy through Christ, and strength to accomplish a thorough reformation; though, in

¹ See Appendix (D).

many instances, to the same sort of change which the one would call "regeneration" (or "new-birth") the other might apply the terms "conversion," "revival," "renewal," &c. Both might agree in teaching that a holy life is the test of effectual, profitable regeneration, and in exhorting all men to lead such a life. On this, the important practical point, they would not differ at all.

Now, if this be so, it cannot but be desirable that men should be at least guarded against supposing themselves (through the influence of the language they employ) to be more at variance than they really are. And it is accordingly our duty, when any such occasion arises, to point out this danger, and thus to promote reconciliation, or, at least, mitigate hostility, between those engaged in any controversy.

But I should mislead you if I were to represent such a procedure as likely to obtain, for the present, at least, the favour or good opinion of the disputants.¹ On the contrary, the most vehement of these will usually applaud most the most eloquent champion of their own cause; and will even be likely to charge those who seek to mediate between them, with lukewarmness, or cowardice, or dissimulation; with ignorance of important truths, or with a readiness to make a base compromise for the sake of human favour.

*Attempts to
reconcile, not
popular.*

¹ See Appendix (E).

It is true, the most calm and considerate will, at once—and many others, after a time—be disposed to do justice to your motives, and to listen to your reasons. But no one is less likely to gain *present popularity* than he who seeks to convince the parties engaged in a contest that they are *in reality less opposed* than they appear to be.

I speak, therefore, as to persons who are seeking the approbation, not of men, but of their heavenly Master;—of Him who has pronounced a blessing on the “Peacemakers.” His true followers, though they would not sacrifice Gospel-truth for the sake of Church-concord, will be ready to sacrifice for it anything and everything else.

Controversies that are not verbal. But though some are liable to be engaged (in reference to these points) in a controversy chiefly verbal, there are others, as I have already hinted, between whom an apparently similar controversy will be found to turn on a real opposition of doctrine.

Those who hold that, (1) of persons duly admitted into the visible Church by baptism, some are, by an absolute, eternal, divine decree, excluded from all the benefits of Christ’s redemption, and moreover (2) that this is a truth set forth in Scripture as an essential point of Christian faith,¹—these, and the parties opposed to them, must, of course, differ, not in the words only, but in the matter of their teaching.

¹ These two very distinct points are often confounded together. See *Essays*, Second Series, Note (A) to Essay IV.

Taking Regeneration to imply (as is generally agreed) *some* kind and degree of benefit—some spiritual gift, or at least *offer* of a gift—they, of course, deny the term “regenerate” to be applicable to those baptized Christians whom they consider as excluded, by the decree of Omnipotence, from all spiritual benefit whatever of Baptism. And the Visible Church, into which members are, through this rite, admitted, they regard as a community not possessing any spiritual endowments whatever; these being, by Divine decree, reserved for certain individuals arbitrarily selected from the rest.

Of those who maintain the predestinarian views now alluded to, a considerable proportion belong to the sect which altogether rejects Infant Baptism.¹ And I

Infant baptism rejected by some.

¹ The proper designation of these is Antipædobaptists. But this, though otherwise unexceptionable, is so awkwardly long a title, that it is not in common use. The title of “Baptists,” and that of “Anabaptists,” are both alike objectionable, as being both, what Jeremy Bentham calls “question-begging-appellatives:” the former implying that their distinctive tenet is *right*; the latter, that it is an error.

For, when an adult who had been baptized in infancy joins their communion, they administer to him the rite of baptism according to their own system. And to call this a “re-baptizing,” (as is implied by the term Anabaptist) is to assume that his original baptism was real and valid, which is the very point they deny. On the other hand, the term Baptist, as a distinguishing appellation, implies that *they* alone really *baptize*, and that the (so-called) Baptism of all others is void and unreal; which is equally to prejudice the question on the other side.

It should be added, that those I have been alluding to are

cannot but admit, that in this they are perfectly consistent.¹ Regarding the rite of Baptism as “an outward and visible *Sign* of an inward spiritual grace,” they deem it necessary, I apprehend, not to “put asunder what God has joined together;” and therefore confine the administration of this sign to those respecting whom there is some presumption, at least, of their being admitted to a participation in *the thing signified*—the divine grace; which grace, they hold, is, by an eternal and absolute decree, bestowed on one portion of mankind, and denied to the rest. And to which of the two classes any individual *infant* belongs, there cannot possibly be any ground for even the slightest conjecture.

In the case of adults, they *can* have, they suppose (just as in the case of the other sacrament—the Lord’s Supper,) if not a complete and certain knowledge whether he belongs to the class of the

what are called “Particular-Baptists.” There is another denomination (I understand, very far from numerous) called “General-Baptists,” who do not hold the predestinarian views alluded to.

On the subject of “terms of reproach,” I have offered some remarks in the Appendix (A) to the third series of *Essays*.

Any one who deprecates, as a term of reproach, or for any other reason, the application of some name to the church or class he belongs to, should be careful to adopt for it a designation which does *not imply a reproach to his neighbours*; else, though these may be wrong in the term they employ, *he* at least has no right to complain of them.

¹ See *Essay* on “Election.” (Essay III. Second Series.) See also Archbishop Sumner’s *Apostolical Preaching*, from which I have subjoined an extract in Appendix (F).

elect or of the non-elect—at least, some indication from his professions and his conduct; indications which an infant, of course, cannot afford at all. And they consider, I apprehend, that this being the case, Baptism administered to infants cannot be a *Sign* of Regeneration, since it cannot furnish even any presumption of being accompanied or followed by it.

And certainly we must admit that, according at least to the ordinary use of language, a *Sign* of anything is understood to be such from its being regularly accompanied by that thing of which it is a sign, or at least by some reasonable presumption of its existence. When, for instance, we speak of a certain dress or badge being a sign of a man's belonging to a certain regiment, or order of knighthood, or the like, we understand that it is to be something *peculiar* to them, and serving to distinguish them from others. If the dress or badge were worn indifferently by an indefinite number of persons, some belonging to this regiment or order, and some not, we should consider that it had ceased to be a *sign* at all, having no longer any *signification*.

It is on these grounds, I conceive, that many of those who hold the doctrine of absolute decrees I have been alluding to, adhered to, or have joined the communion of those calling themselves, and commonly called Baptists.¹

¹ See Appendix (G).

Our safest and most pious course, *Practice of the Apostles.* however, is, in any practical question, to endeavour to ascertain, in the first instance, what was the practice of the Apostles, and to adhere to that, whenever we have reason to think that the rules and customs they sanctioned were not of a merely local or temporary character, but were equally suited to our own age and country. Not only is respect due to their practices, but moreover these *practices* will often throw light on their *doctrine*. And we ought surely rather to put ourselves under their teaching, where it is to be had, than to adopt and act upon the inferences drawn from any theological theory of our own.

Now, with respect to the question of *Reference to the analogy of the Levitical Law.* infant baptism, though there is not in Scripture any express injunction or prohibition relating to it, any one who inquires with an unbiassed mind may, I think, arrive at a perfect moral certainty as to what was the practice of the earliest Christians.

For several years, we should remember, they were all *Jews*. And even after Gentiles had begun to be engrafted into the Church, the Gospel was still, in each place, preached first in the Jewish Synagogue ; and a considerable portion of the most eminent teachers were of that nation.

Now, men brought up under the LAW would, of course, adhere to the principles of that law wherever these were not at variance with Chris-

tianity, and would be disposed to view everything in the Gospel *according to the analogy of Judaism*, except when *taught otherwise*. And their inspired instructors did teach them otherwise, whenever there was need. Whenever this disposition was carried to a faulty excess—as in the well-known instance of the attempt to make the Mosaic Law binding on Christians—the error was, we may be sure, as in that instance, promptly corrected, and firmly resisted, by the Apostles.

Now, Baptism having always been clearly understood to be the initiatory rite by which members were admitted into the christian Church,¹ it cannot, I think, be doubted, by any unprejudiced inquirer, that the early Christians must have been prepared to observe the same rules in admitting (by Baptism) members into the christian Church, which they had been accustomed to in the admission into the Jewish. If it had been the rule to admit adults only into the Mosaic covenant—if infancy had been a bar to any one's reception—then, they would never have thought of baptizing *children* into the christian Church, *unless expressly commanded* to do so. If—as is the fact—they had been accustomed to enrol in the *Jewish*

¹ Agreeably to our Lord's charge to his Apostles (Mat. xxviii.) the exact rendering of which is, "make disciples of all nations," (i. e., enrol them as members of the Church) "by baptizing them in the name," &c.

The *marginal* rendering of μαθητεύσατε in our Bible is preferable to that in the text. See also Acts, viii. 36, and x. 47.

Church their own infant-children, and proselytes, of all ages, then they would, as a matter of course, adhere to the same rule in reference to the *Christian* Church, unless they were *expressly forbidden*.¹ And so strong and universal must have been the disposition to bring to Baptism the *children* of believers, that if this had not been allowable, we should undoubtedly have found in the New Testament most distinct and frequent notices of its prohibition. As for distinct injunctions or recommendations, these were evidently not at all needed, in reference to any practice about which there had never been any hesitation.

And as for the many scruples and questions that have been raised relative to infant-baptism, none of these would be likely even to occur to their minds; because they had been familiar all their lives with the admission into the Mosaic Covenant, of infants, incapable, at the time, of availing themselves of, or at all understanding, the benefits of that Covenant.

We have therefore, I conceive, a complete moral certainty that the earliest Christians did practise infant-baptism, and that it received the tacit sanc-

¹ "There is a *presumption* in favour of every existing institution. Many of these (we will suppose the majority) may be susceptible of alteration for the better; but still, the 'burden of proof' lies with him who proposes an alteration, simply on the ground that since a change is not a good in itself, he who demands a change should show cause for it."—*Rhetoric*, p. i. c. 3, § 2.

tion and approval of the Apostles; whose prohibitions of it we should not have failed to find recorded, had it been at all objectionable.

But in this, and in several other points also, difficulties, and sometimes serious errors, are likely to arise from not being sufficiently careful to view the Gospel through the medium of the *Law*;—to recollect, that is, not only that the Mosaic Dispensation itself was the forerunner and type of the christian, which fulfilled and extended it, but also that Christianity was first preached *by*, and *to*, men who had been brought up Jews; and that accordingly we must carefully consider, and keep in mind, what were the habits and modes of thought of *Jews* of that Age and Country, and in what way *they* would be likely to understand the precepts and the doctrines delivered to them. For, the interpretations which were the most obvious to *them*, will often differ from what may be the most obvious to *us* of the present day. And, again, it will often happen that what were to them the greatest difficulties, (as, for instance, the admission of Gentiles to be “fellow-heirs,”) will be, to us, no difficulties at all. And whatever meaning presented itself to *their* minds, must be presumed to be the right one, so far as they were not taught otherwise by their inspired guides the Apostles, who were at hand to correct any mistakes they might fall into.

Jewish habits of thought to be considered.

Thus, for instance, if we would inquire what

we are to understand by “Saints”—“God’s people”—and the “Elect” [or chosen], our safest course is, (as I have pointed out, long since, on several occasions,) to look to the sense in which an *Israelite* had been accustomed to hear those terms employed, and to consider how *he* would be likely to understand them, by analogy, in reference to the Gospel dispensation.¹ And so also, if we would ascertain what is meant by the “baptizing of a household,” which we read of in the New Testament—whether it included, or not, the *children* of the believing parents—our guide should be, the practice of the Israelites in reference to any Gentile-family, the heads of which had renounced idolatry, and desired to be admitted, as Proselytes—as Israelites by adoption—into the number of God’s chosen people under the Old Dispensation. “Let *all* his males be circumcised, and then let him draw near and eat the passover,” was the direction of the Law under which they acted.

*Jewish view
of the admis-
sion of infants
into the Mo-
saic Covenant.*

And if an intelligent and well-disposed Israelite had been asked, what benefit he contemplated as accruing from enrolment in the number of God’s people to an infant, incapable of either obeying or disobeying the law, and of enjoying, or understanding, the promised blessings of the Covenant, he

¹ See *Essay* “On Election,” First Series; and Discourse on “Christian Saints,” in the Vol. of *Sermons*.

would probably have replied, that the child—being dedicated to the Lord by Jewish parents or guardians, solemnly bound to instruct and bring him up as a Jew—might be expected, as soon as he should be able, and as far as he should be able, to understand these things, to become, gradually, an observer of the Law, and a partaker of its benefits; and that, then, he would not obtain a new *possession* of something which, before, was not his, but would merely enter on the full enjoyment of a benefit formerly conferred on him.

The case, in short, would be viewed as analogous to one which occurs every day;—that of an infant inheriting an estate, or a title, or the freedom of some corporation. Though not capable at the time of either profiting by, or understanding these advantages, he will subsequently become so; and will then, if he use them aright, not *acquire* a new possession, but derive the suitable advantages from that to which he was already entitled.¹ And even as the inheritor of a fortune may, when he grows up, make either a good or an ill use of his wealth, so, any one, whether the child of an Israelite

¹ In the ordinary language of secular business, a person is said to have *received*—as a gift or a payment—such and such a sum of money, even when no *money* is literally handed to him, but only a *draft* on some banker, who is ready to pay it as soon as presented. And we speak of his having received this sum, though we know that he may possibly not present the draft for some days, or may even never present it at all.

by birth, or of a proselyte, who was admitted into the Jewish Church, might, in after life, either avail himself rightly of the privileges thus bestowed on him, or convert them into a curse, by his neglect or abuse of them.

And supposing this latter case,—supposing the son of some devout proselyte to have grown up an idolater, or otherwise a transgressor of the Law, he would, I conceive, have been admonished (by a prophet, or other pious Jew) not, to *become* an Israelite,—not, to seek *admission* into the number of God's chosen people—but, to repent, and *return* to the Lord, to *reform* his life, and to walk worthy of the privileges to which he had been admitted.

All this, an intelligent and pious

*Reasonings
of a Jew who
should have
embraced
Christianity.* Jew who should have embraced the Gospel, would naturally be inclined to apply, by analogy, to the case of the Christian-Dispensation.

And accordingly, one of the most eminent of these, the Apostle Paul himself, directs the attention of his converts to such an analogy; applying the very word “*baptized*” to the Israelites on their deliverance from Egypt; whom he represents as being *all* “chosen” to be partakers of special divine favours; while yet—as he reminds the Corinthians¹—most² of these very men were “overthrown in the wilderness;” not according to any eternal divine

¹ 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

² τοῖς πλειστοις.

decree (at least, he mentions none), excluding them from the promised blessings, but as a consequence of their obstinate rebellions. It was because "they thought scorn of that pleasant land, and gave no credence unto his word," that the Lord "sware unto them that they should not enter into his rest." And all "these things," Paul tells the Corinthians, "are written for the admonition" of Christians.¹

It is thus that (as I remarked above) we may plainly learn, from the *practice* of the early Church, what were the *doctrines* taught in it. Having ascertained what the first Christians were accustomed, under the guidance of the Apostles, to *do*, in reference to the administration of Baptism, we may thence safely infer what were their sentiments on the subject.

And here I would remind you, by the way, that I have been representing a pious and intelligent Israelite as speaking all along, of the case of children brought forward for dedication to the Lord by parents *designing to educate them accordingly*. He would not, I conceive, suppose that any one had a right, or a power, to admit into the Mosaic covenant a Gentile-infant who was to be brought up as a heathen. And, by parity of reasoning, he would not, as a Christian, regard as of

By whom infants are to be brought for enrolment among God's people.

¹ See *Essay* "On Election," Second Series.

any avail, or as a valid Baptism at all, the performance of an outward ceremony on an infant that is to be brought up, as far as we know and believe, in entire ignorance of Christian duties and privileges. No one would be regarded as sowing seed to any purpose—or indeed, properly speaking, as *sowing* it at all—who should scatter corn on the trodden wayside, with a full knowledge that it would be immediately “devoured by the fowls of the air,” instead of springing up and producing, “first the blade, then the ear, and afterwards the full corn in the ear.”

I mention this, because there are (as most of you probably are aware), instances recorded of priests administering by stealth (through mistaken pious charity), what they regard as the rite of Christian Baptism, to the infants of savages, or of Chinese or Hindoo idolaters.¹ But in *our* Church, it is plain,

¹ I have heard the question raised, what should be our procedure in reference to a person to whom an intended baptism had been thus rashly administered, supposing him (as is not inconceivable) to come, subsequently, to a knowledge of the Gospel; are we, it has been asked, to repeat, in such a case, the external ceremony?

The question, in any such case, evidently amounts to this:—whether he *has* been really baptized or not? For it has always been universally held that Baptism is a rite which cannot be repeated; since no one can be *admitted* a member of a society of which he *is* a member already.

In every case, then, in which there is a *doubt* as to the answer to that question, our Church has expressly provided a *conditional* form to meet such a case. [See Rubric to the Office for Private

no such procedure is recognised. Our Formularies all along most plainly contemplate the case of a child *brought* to Baptism by persons pledging themselves to its education as a Christian. In the narrative so earnestly dwelt on in the baptismal service, the children brought to our Lord for His blessing must evidently have been the children of *believing* parents. And all the declarations made in our Formularies—the hopes expressed—the prayers—the exhortations—in short, every thing that is said—must be, in fairness, understood as proceeding on this supposition.

Accordingly, the very reason assigned in the Catechism for its being allowable to administer Baptism to infants is, that as there are certain indispensable *conditions* of the benefits promised to them, so the fulfilment of these conditions is promised *by* them through their sureties.¹

As for the “remission of sins” at Baptism, so frequently alluded to in our Services, this, it is plain, cannot be understood of *actual* sins, in the case of an *infant*, which is not a moral agent at all, nor capable of either transgressing, or obeying God’s laws;—of

*Remission
of sins.*

Baptism.] As for the question, who are the persons to whom the office is, or should be, entrusted, of administering the Rite of Baptism? on this I have made some remarks [extracted in the Appendix (H)] from the Second *Essay*, “On the Kingdom of Christ.”

¹ See Appendix (I).

resisting, or of following, the suggestions of his Spirit. Nor, again, can it mean a removal of the frail and sinful nature,—the “*phronema sarkos*”—inherited by every descendant of Adam; since our 9th Article expressly declares that this “remaineth even in those that are regenerate.¹ But it seems to denote that those duly baptized are considered as no longer children of the condemned and disinherited Adam—as no longer aliens from God—disqualified for his service—and excluded from the offers of the Gospel, but are received into the number of God’s adopted children, and have thrown open to them, as it were, the treasury of divine grace, through which, if they duly avail themselves of it—though not otherwise,—they will attain final salvation.

This seems to be the most simple and unforced interpretation of the language of our Church in various passages of her Formularies: as for instance in the Catechism, where the Catechumen speaks of “Baptism, wherein I was made a child of God * * * and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven;” and again where it is said that, “being by nature born in sin, * * * we are hereby made the children of Grace.”

¹ Of the “imputation” of Adam’s transgression (and also of Christ’s righteousness) I have treated fully in Essay VI. (Second Series). On the same subject, Archbishop Sumner has some valuable remarks, which I have taken the liberty of extracting in the Appendix (K).

Now this placing of a person in a different condition from that in which he *New-birth.* was originally born, may not unaptly be designated (as it appears to be by our Reformers) by the term "Regeneration" or New-birth.¹

But no one can suppose that they regarded the sowing of seed as the same thing with the full maturity of the corn for harvest, or as necessarily implying it. To be born into the natural world is not the same thing as to be grown up; nor can it be pronounced of every infant that is born, that it *will*, necessarily, grow up to manly maturity. So, also, our Reformers never meant to teach that every one who is baptized is sure of salvation, independently of his "leading the rest of his life according to this beginning:"² or again, that we can be infallibly sure that he *will* do this; any more than we can pronounce with certainty (according to the analogy of a temporal inheritance, above alluded to) that one who has an estate bequeathed to him, will claim his inheritance in proper form, and will make that right use of his wealth on which depends its becoming a real blessing to him.

¹ The Ninth Article has in the original Latin the word "*renati*" twice; once, where it is translated "regenerate," and again where it is rendered "baptized."

I have inserted in the Appendix (L) an extract from a Charge by the late Bishop Ryder; one from the works of the late Mr. Simeon; and one from Archbishop Sumner's *Apostolic Preaching*; all bearing on the point now before us.

² Baptismal Service.

*Inheriting
of the King-
dom of Hea-
ven.*

The expression “an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven” seems to be used in reference to the *tendency* and suitable *result*, of an admission into the Church of Christ. And such a kind of language is often employed by all writers, and not least, by the Apostles. When, for instance, the Apostle John says that “whatsoever is born of God overcometh the World,” and that “every one who is born of God doth not commit sin,” it cannot be supposed that he meant to attribute moral *perfection*, and *impeccability* to Christians; whom, on the contrary, he exhorts to “confess their sins,” and seek to be “cleansed from all unrighteousness.” Far was it from his design, to teach that one who did but feel convinced of having experienced the new-birth might safely remit his exertions, and relax his vigilance against sin, and “count himself to have apprehended,” and to be thenceforward sure of the divine acceptance, and of everlasting life. On the contrary, he was writing—as is well known—in opposition to those Gnostics of his day, who were gross Antinomians, and who, while they professed to “have no sin” in God’s sight, and to be sure of salvation through their pretended “knowledge” (Gnosis) of the Gospel, lived a life of flagrant immorality.

In contradiction to their monstrous tenets, he declares that every one who hath a well-grounded “hope in Christ, purifieth himself, even as He is pure:”—that a sinful life is *inconsistent* with the character

of “the sons of God:”—that the tendency, in short, and suitable result, of being born of God, is opposed to the commission of sin.

And indeed in all subjects, it is far from an uncommon mode of speaking, to attribute to any person or thing, some quality, which, though not an *invariable*, is a suitable, or natural attribute, and may reasonably be looked for therein.¹ And in like manner, we often, figuratively, *deny* some title to an object that is wanting in those qualities which *ought* to belong to it, or which that title suggests as a natural and consistent accompaniment, and what may fairly be expected.

Thus, for instance, in speaking of some act of excessive baseness or depravity, it is not uncommon to say “one who could be guilty of this, is *not a MAN*:” meaning of course, that such conduct is unworthy of the manly character; inconsistent with what may be fairly expected from a *man*, as such, and more suitable to the brutish nature.² But so

¹ In this way, many words have come to vary gradually from their original signification. For instance, to “cure,” in its etymological sense (from “curare”) signifies to take *care* of a patient, and to *administer* medicines. In its present use, it implies the *successful* administration.

So it is also with the word *θεραπευω*, which, in the language of the New-testament writers, signifies, not to *tend*, but to *heal*.

² “I dare do all that may become a *man*;

Who dares do more, is *none*.”—*Macbeth*.

Some remarks on this kind of language, in reference to another subject, will be found in the *Treatise on Rhetoric*, p. 3, ch. iii. § 3.

far are we from understanding that any one who acts thus unworthily is not, strictly and literally, a man, that, on the contrary, this is the very ground of our censure. We condemn a *man* who acts the part of a brute, precisely *because* he is a man,—a Being from whom something better might have been looked for,—and *not* one of the brute-creation.

Again, any one might say of a garden that was greatly neglected, and over-run with wild plants, “this is *not* a garden,” or “it does not deserve the name of a garden:” though it is precisely because it is, literally, a garden, that we speak thus contemptuously of it; since, in an uncultivated spot, the sight of a luxuriant wild vegetation does not offend the eye.

It is in a similar mode of speaking that Paul declares, that “he is *not* a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is of the heart,” &c., meaning—as, no doubt, every one must have understood him, that one who is not in his heart, and in his conduct, a servant of the Lord, is wanting in what *ought* to characterize the Lord’s people,—is *inconsistent* with his profession, and an *unworthy* member of the Jewish Church:—one who will derive no benefit, but the contrary, from the privileges to which he has been admitted as a Jew.

He might equally well have said—and doubtless would have been ready to say—according to the

same kind of figure—that he is not a “baptized” Christian—he is not “regenerate”—who is so, outwardly alone, and has nothing of the christian character within. And, indeed, the Apostle Peter actually does employ similar language in speaking of Baptism (which, he says, “saveth us”), when he says that it is “not the putting away the filth of the flesh,” (*i. e.* the outward application of water to the body,) “but the answer of a good conscience towards God:” not meaning that a person deficient in this has not been, literally, and in the strict and proper sense of the word, baptized at all, and needs to have that rite administered; but that he is wanting in that which is the proper and beneficial *result* of an admission into the christian Church.

And corresponding forms of expression are very common, on various subjects; and seldom give rise to error, or confusion of thought, or obscurity, except in those cases (and religious discussions are among the principal of them) in which men under the influence of some strong prejudice exercise their ingenuity in seeking for anything that may serve as an argument, and in interpreting words according to the letter and against the spirit, for the sake of supporting some favourite theory.

Several important points connected with the present subject I have been compelled either to pass by unnoticed, or to touch upon very briefly, because they could not have been fully discussed within

limits suitable to this occasion. And, moreover, several of them I have already treated of in different parts of works long since published; and I was unwilling to detain you by repeating, in the same, or in other words, what I have there said.¹

Verbal questions and real to be carefully distinguished.

But permit me earnestly to call your attention, once more, to the importance of examining carefully, in any controversy that may arise, how far it may turn on differences in the expressions employed. Let any two persons, whose views appear at the first glance widely at variance, be prevailed on to depart from the strict technical language of a theological school, and to state *in as many different forms as possible*, what is the practical advice they would give to each Christian, under various circumstances: and it will often come out that one whom his neighbour had been at first disposed to condemn as having abandoned some fundamental truths of Christianity, has, in fact, merely avoided the particular terms in which the other has been accustomed to express them; and that the difference between the parties is not such, either in kind or in degree, as had been supposed.²

¹ Particularly in *Essay IX.* (2d Series) § 8.

² At the time when the outcry was raised against Bishop Hampden's *Bampton Lectures*, many persons, no doubt, who joined in it, had no design to commit injustice, but had been taught to think that the work was really unsound.

He had traced to the Schoolmen many of the *phrases* which are commonly employed to express certain doctrines; and hence,

In guarding, however, against verbal controversies *mistaken for real*,¹ I would not be understood as thinking little of the importance of careful accuracy of language. Indeed, the very circumstance that inattention to this may lead to serious mistakes as to our meaning, would alone be sufficient to show how needful it is to be careful as to our modes of expression.

Verbal questions not unimportant.

For instance, cases have come under my own knowledge in which an active minister, sincerely attached to our Church, has found, to his astonishment and mortification, that his people were, one by one, dropping off into the sect of the Baptists; and that these seceders were almost exclusively those very persons who had been the most attentive to his instructions, and the most promising. This circumstance induced me, when consulted on such a case, to inquire carefully into the language which he had employed in speaking of Baptism and points connected therewith. And I found, and pointed out to the complainant, "that he had been, in fact, undesignedly preparing the way for these conversions, by using such expressions as were likely to be understood, and actually were understood, in a sense

Undesigned favouring of the rejection of Infant-Baptism.

that he intended to represent the *doctrines themselves* as of human devising was rashly inferred; by those especially (a very large proportion of his censurers) who had *never read* the work itself, but only artfully-garbled extracts.

¹ See *Logic*: "Verbal Questions."

favouring the Baptist doctrines; so that his most attentive hearers, whenever they came in the way of a teacher of that persuasion, were induced to adopt at once the inferences from the premises already established in their minds." However charitably we may judge of the members of that communion, it is clearly our duty as sound members of a Church which does allow infant-baptism, to guard against being so understood as to encourage secession from that Church.¹

*Importance
of Confirmation,
and of
right preparation
for it.*

On all the points which have been here alluded to, you have, my reverend brethren, an especial opportunity, and an especial call for giving early, and full, and systematic instruction, in your discharge of that most important branch of your duty, the preparing of children for the solemn Ordinance of CONFIRMATION. The course of that preparation will afford you a most fitting occasion for explaining to them clearly the character of the Sacraments according to the views of our Church; which evidently designs to make Confirmation, not, a distinct Sacrament, but the connecting link between the two:—a kind of supplement and completion to the one, and the introduction to the other.² And this sacred

¹ See Appendix (D.)

² It was with a view to impress this the more strongly on the minds of all the parties concerned, that I adopted in my own diocese the plan of adding on the Communion-service to that of

rite has the advantage, when duly administered to persons properly prepared, of obviating every reasonable objection to the practice of infant-baptism, and thus justifying and exhibiting as an harmonious whole, the system of Church-ordinances established by our reformers.

Confirmation, and receiving no candidates for Confirmation but such as were prepared to attend the Lord's Table immediately. The error was thus the more effectually guarded against, (and I well knew what need there was to guard against it,) of bringing forward for Confirmation persons unfit or unwilling to partake of the Eucharist, and who, too often, never do partake of it at all.

That this is quite at variance with the design of our Church, I took occasion to set forth in the *Tract on Confirmation*, (printed for circulation in the diocese,) from which an extract is subjoined in the Appendix (M).

The experience of nearly eighteen years, during which this course has been blessed with the happiest results, and the strong testimony of the most judicious and assiduous of the Clergy, have fully confirmed my original conviction of its expediency.

APPENDIX.

(A), page 2.

Extract from Appendix to Essay II. On the Kingdom of Christ.

“I have seen reproaches full of scornful exultation cast on Protestants for having recourse, when treating of the subject of Church-government, to reasonings drawn from general views of Human Nature, and to illustrations from secular affairs: and for calculating what are likely to be the decisions of a Synod so and so constituted, without adverting to the promises of Divine presence and protection to the Church, and without expressing confidence of providential interpositions to secure it from discord, error, and other evils.

This kind of language has, at the first glance, a plausible air; and is well calculated,—one cannot but think, designed,—to impose on pious and well-intentioned, but ignorant, weak, and unreflecting minds among the multitude. But a sober examination will shew it to be either wholly irrelevant to the matter in hand, or else a mere groundless pretence.

It is indeed true that the Lord has promised to be with his People ‘even unto the end of the world,’ and that ‘the Gates of Hell’ (*i. e.* Death) ‘shall not prevail against his Church;’ that is, that Christianity shall never become extinct. And his ‘Spirit which helpeth our infirmities’ will doubtless be granted to such as sincerely exert themselves in his cause: though not necessarily so as to crown those exertions with such complete success, as, we know, was not granted to the Apostles themselves. Our efforts, however, in that cause, whether He in his unsearchable wisdom shall see fit to make them a greater or a less benefit to others, will doubtless, as far as regards ourselves, be accepted by him. And a pious confidence in whatever God has really promised, Protestants do not fail to inculcate on suitable occasions.

But when the question is as to the probable results of such and such a procedure in a Synod, and as to the measures likely to be

adopted by a Government so and so constituted, it would manifestly be irrelevant to dwell on those general promises of the divine blessing. If there were a question what means should be used to protect a certain district from hurtful inundations, no one would think of cutting short the discussion by a reference to the promise made to Noah, that the whole Earth should never again be laid waste by a deluge. It is evident, therefore, that the reproaches I have alluded to must be understood as having reference to (that which alone is pertinent to the present question) confidence in a promise of supernatural interference to secure the Church for ever from strife, schism, and corruption.

And certainly if we *had* received any such promise, all apprehensions, all calculations of probabilities,—all reasonings from the analogy of other human transactions, would be superseded; and we should have only to ‘stand still and see the salvation of God.’

But every one, except the grossly ignorant and unthinking, must be well aware that no such promise has ever been *fulfilled*, and consequently (if the Scriptures are to be taken as a record of divine truth) that none such was ever *made*.

We find the Apostle Paul declaring that ‘there must needs be heresies, that they who are approved may be made manifest;’ we find him labouring to repress the irregularities and party spirit, which even in his own time had crept into the Church of Corinth; and warning the Elders of Ephesus and Miletus to ‘take heed, because after his departure grievous wolves would enter into the fold.’ Corruptions in doctrine, disorders, dissension, and insubordination, are evils of which he is continually giving notice to his People as what they must be prepared to encounter.

And when we look to the ecclesiastical history of subsequent Ages—exhibiting the sad spectacle of contests, almost equally dividing the Church, between the Arians, for instance, and the Athanasians, on points of doctrine, and between the Donatists and their opponents, on a question of Ecclesiastical Polity,—besides the mutual anathemas of the Eastern and Western Churches, and besides all the cabals and intrigues, and secular motives, and evil passions, which have notoriously found their way into Councils, and Conclaves, and ecclesiastical Courts—when we contemplate all this, we see but too well what reason the Apostle had for his warnings.

But there is no need in the present case to resort to ancient

history. The very existence of *Protestants* (to say nothing of the Greek Church) is sufficient to nullify, in respect of the Church of Rome at least, the notion of an exemption from error and from schism being promised to *that*, as to the Universal or Catholic Church. For, the Church of Rome claims all professing Christians as properly belonging to it; considering Protestants as children, though disobedient children;—subjects, though revolted subjects. The very rise, therefore, and continued existence, of Protestantism, proves the non-existence in the Catholic Church (if the Church of Rome be supposed such) of any immunity from heresy and schism. And if it be attempted to avoid this conclusion by allowing that Protestants and members of the Greek Church are *not* to be regarded as in any way belonging to the Church of Rome, then the pretensions of that Church to be *the Catholic* (*i. e.* Universal) Church, must be given up.

Whatever plausibility therefore there may appear at first sight in the pretensions, *separately* taken, of that Church, on the one hand to perfect purity of doctrine, and Unity, and on the other hand to Universality, it is evident that both *conjointly* cannot be maintained with even any show of reason. Either the one or the other must be abandoned. Like the pictures of a Thaumatrope, the two will be found, on careful and steady observation, to be painted on *opposite sides*; and it is only by a confused whirl that they can be made to appear in conjunction. If Protestants, and members of the Greek, the Armenian, and other Churches, do *not* belong to the Romish Church, it cannot be *Universal*; if (which is what its advocates actually maintain) all Christians do belong to it, then, it manifestly is not exempt from *divisions*, and contrariety of doctrine. It is in vain (as far as the present question is concerned) to urge that the doctrine and procedure of Protestants, &c., are *condemned* by the authorities of the Church of Rome, and by all its *sound* members. For, an *exemption* from a certain evil must consist, not in its being *censured* when it arises, but in its *not arising* at all. Indeed it would be very easy,—and also quite nugatory,—for any Church whatever to set up the boast that its doctrines are received by all,—except those who dissent from them; and that all submit to its authority,—except those who refuse submission.

So also, the most insignificant State existing might pretend to *Universal Empire*. It is said that it is, or was, the custom for

the Kham of Tartary, every day, as soon as he has dined, to send out a herald to his tent-door to make proclamation in a loud voice, that all the kings of the earth are now at liberty to go to dinner. This may be considered as putting forth a claim to universal supremacy: but it would hardly be regarded as *establishing* the claim.

And as for exemption from error and dissension, let any one but consider what would be thought if an Englishman were to boast to a Hindoo or a Chinese, that London enjoys the happiness of being exempt from all crimes, and also from conflagrations; and should afterwards explain his meaning to be, that all crimes are forbidden by law; the perpetrator being liable, when detected and apprehended, to be punished as the law directs; and that though fires do break out from time to time, there are fire-engines ready to be called out on such occasions. Every one would at once perceive that all this does not amount to what can be properly termed an exemption.

The extraordinary Providence, therefore, which is boasted of as securing the true Church from division and from error, and which Protestants are reproached with not trusting to or claiming, has evidently no existence in the very Church to which those who utter the reproach belong. And one can hardly doubt that they must themselves be aware of this; and that when they speak, in a tone of exulting confidence, of the miraculous exemption of their Church from the inroads of false doctrine and dissension, they are only seeking to quiet the minds of the unthinking Vulgar with a delusive consolation.

How far this kind of language may work an opposite effect on the minds of the more educated Classes,—how far the great prevalence of infidelity among those Classes on the Continent may be accounted for by their continually hearing (from those who, they will conclude, ought to know what their own Scriptures say) of *promises* having been made to the Church which, it is evident, as a matter of experience, have *not* been fulfilled, is an inquiry into which I will not now enter. My own conviction is, that every kind of pious fraud is as much at variance, ultimately, with sound policy, as it is with Christian principle."

Extract from Note B to Sermon XVIII., on the Search after Infallibility.

"I am well aware that when the two claims,—that to universality, and that to exemption from dissension and from error,—are brought forward *in conjunction*, and it is undertaken to reconcile them with each other, it is usual to explain one or both of them in a sense different from the obvious and natural meaning of the words, so as to render the two claims compatible. Then it is that we are told that 'Catholic' or 'Universal' means only the religion of a considerable *majority* of professing Christians, or the religion the most *widely diffused* throughout Christendom: or we are told that the Universal Church means merely that which all professed Christians *ought* to belong to; and that adults of sound mind who have received Christian baptism, and deliberately profess Christianity, are *not*, necessarily, members of the Universal Church, or Christians at all.

And we are also told that exemption from dissension and from error belongs to those only who *submit* in all points to the decisions of the rulers of the Catholic Church. And doubtless if all mankind, or any number of men, would but come to a perfect agreement in *any* one religion,—be it *true or false*,—they could not but be exempt from religious dissension, and, if not from error, at least from anything that they themselves would account an error.

But surely this is to 'keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope.' It is not in any such sense that the pretensions I have been speaking of are usually put forth, and naturally understood, when *taken separately*. And it is not under any such explanations as the above, that those pretensions are found so alluring and so satisfactory as, to a great number of persons, they are; but in the natural and ordinary sense of the words. The expression 'Catholic,' or 'Universal,' Church is naturally understood to denote that which comprehends *all* Christians. And by the word Christians is understood those who acknowledge and professedly embrace the religion founded by Jesus Christ. And those who designate any of these as Heretics are so far from denying them the title of Christians (though unsound and perverted Christians), that they imply it; since Pagans or avowed Atheists are never reckoned Heretics.

I am not, be it observed, defending this use of the word 'Christian' as the most *advisable* to be adopted, if we were framing a new language. It might, we will suppose, have been advisable so to define the term that no two Christian Sects or Churches should apply it to the same persons. I am simply stating a *fact* as to the actual sense conveyed by the word in our *existing language*. And that such is the sense conveyed by it, is as much a fact as that we actually call the ninth month of the year, September, and the tenth, October; though if we were remodeling our language, the impropriety of such names would be obvious.

And again, exemption from dissension and from error naturally conveys the idea, not of these evils being *condemned* by certain Authorities when they arise, but of their never arising at all.

And it is in these obvious and natural senses of the words that the above pretensions are, in general,—when taken separately,—put forth with boastful confidence, and prove so attractive and so consolatory to the minds of many, as to be at once admitted without any close scrutiny as to how far they are well founded.

But when the two claims are brought into juxtaposition, and it is inquired how far they are *compatible*, then they are explained away in the manner above alluded to. The promise is made in one sense, and kept in the other. If King George III. and his predecessors had boasted that the *English language* was in use in all their European dominions, and also that they were *Kings of France*, every one would have seen, that, whatever might be said for each of these claims separately, they were incompatible with each other."

Waiving, however, all reference to those who reject the supremacy of Rome, the differences that have occurred—and that have been permitted—among those who do acknowledge it, are such that one cannot but wonder at the boldness with which the claim is put forward of a miraculous exemption from everything of the kind. The long and violent disputes indeed between Franciscans and Dominicans about the doctrine of the "Immaculate Conception," or those between the Jesuits and the Jansenists as to sundry important points of faith,—these, the unlearned multitude, in many countries, may have never heard of. But they must surely have heard of books deliberately sanctioned and recommended for the use of schools, by *Prelates of the highest rank*, and moreover approved by the Pope himself, being denounced by other Pre-

lates of the same Church, as not only dangerous, but full of unsound doctrine.

In the face of all this, to boast of unbroken peace and concord is surely a large demand on popular credulity.

(B), page 5.

“This disingenuous system is a tree which has, of late, borne fruits that have startled many, even of those who could not see, when first pointed out to them, the natural tendency of the system. The fundamental doctrines of our Reformers have been explained away by interpreting their words in a non-natural sense, so as to allow members of our Church to hold tenets the most opposite. Now, how can any one be sure that the application of the principle is arbitrarily stopped short at this point? Let any one examine, and compare together, *these non-natural interpretations*, and the language, *in reference to Christianity*, of the foreign *Transcendentalists*; who profess to believe that Christianity came from God,—in the same sense in which *every thing* comes from God;—who teach the Incarnation,—explaining to the initiated that this means the presence of the Deity, *i. e.*, of the ‘spiritual principle’ which pervades the universe—the God of Pantheism—in *man, generally*, as well as in *all other animals*; and who profess a belief in man’s immortality,—that is, that the *human species* will never become extinct, &c. Let any one, I say, compare together these two systems, (if indeed they are to be reckoned as *two*,) and say whether there is ANY GREATER VIOLENCE DONE TO THE ORDINARY SENSE OF WORDS BY THE ONE THAN BY THE OTHER; whether he who professes himself a *churchman* according to the one system, may not, with perfect consistency, profess himself a *Christian* according to the other. Even supposing therefore that all the disciples of the School in question do inwardly believe in the truth of Christianity, they cannot give any sufficient assurance that they do so.”—*Introd. to Essays on Peculiarities*, 5th ed., pp. 8, 9.

“It might be added that, among those who express the greatest dread and detestation of ‘German Neology,’—‘German Philosophy,’—the ‘daring speculations of the Germans,’ &c., are to be found some of that class of Anglican Divines, whose doctrines apparently correspond the most closely (as far as we can judge

respecting two confessedly mystic schools) with those of that very Neology. The very circumstance itself that both *are* schools of Mysticism,—that both parties have one system for the mass of mankind, and another—whether expressed in different language, or in the same words understood in a totally different sense—for the initiated, affords a presumption, when there are some points of coincidence in the doctrine *divulged*, that a still further agreement may be expected in the *reserved* doctrines.

As the advocates of reserve among us speak of not intending to inculcate generally such conclusions as a logical reasoner will correctly deduce by following out their principles, and again speak of an ordinary reader being likely to ‘miss their real meaning, by not being aware of the peculiar sense in which they employ terms,’ so those German Transcendentalists whom I allude to,—whose system of Theology—or rather of Atheology—is little else than a new edition of the Pantheism of the ancient Heathen Philosophers, of the Brahmins, and the Buddhists,—use a similar double-meaning language. They profess Christianity, and employ profusely such terms as a ‘God,’ ‘Faith,’ ‘Incarnation,’ ‘Miracle,’ ‘Immortality,’ &c., attaching to these words, a meaning quite remote from what is commonly understood by them. Their ‘God’ is the God of Pantheism; not a personal agent, but a certain vital principle diffused through the Material Universe, and of which every human soul is a portion; which is at death to be reabsorbed into the infinite Spirit, and become just what it was before birth,¹ exactly according to the ancient system of philosophy described by Virgil: “Mens agitat molem et toto se corpore miscet; Inde hominum pecudumque genus,” &c. And the other terms alluded to are understood by them in a sense no less wide from the popular acceptance.

Both parties again, agree in deprecating all employment of reasoning in matters pertaining to religion: both decry the historical evidence of Christianity, and discourage as profane, all appeal to evidence; and both disparage Miracles considered as a proof of the divine origin of Christianity; alleging that *every* event that occurs is equally a miracle; meaning therefore exactly what in ordinary language would be expressed by saying that *nothing* is miraculous.

¹ See *Essay* 1st, First. Series.

Other coincidences may be observed; such as the strong desire manifested by both parties to explain away, or soften down the line of demarcation between what ordinary Christians call the *Scriptures*, and every thing subsequent;—between what *we* call the Christian Revelation, considered as an historical transaction recorded in the New Testament; and any pretended after-revelation, or improvement, or completion or perfect development, of ‘the system of true Religion.’ To Christianity as a *Revelation completed* in our sacred *books*, both parties, more or less openly, according to circumstances, confess their objection.

And it is remarkable that even the vehement censures pronounced by one of these schools, on the speculations of the other, is far from being inconsistent with their fundamental agreement in principles. For of the German Neologists themselves, some of the leading writers strongly condemn the rashness, with which some conclusions have been openly stated by others, of the same school, and confessedly proceeding on principles fundamentally the same.¹

If any one therefore who belongs to a school of mystical reserve, should be suspected, in consequence of a remarkable agreement between some of his acknowledged tenets and the German Neology, of a further degree of secret concurrence, beyond, perhaps, what he is really conscious of, he must not wonder at, or complain of such suspicion; nor expect at once to repel it by the strongest censure of those writers, and professed renunciation of their doctrines; unless he can also make up his mind to renounce likewise the system of a ‘Double doctrine’ altogether, resolving, and proclaiming his resolution to speak henceforth ‘the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,’ respecting his religious tenets, and forswearing totally the practice of employing language ‘in a peculiar sense’ different from what is ordinarily understood by it.”—*Kingdom of Christ, Appendix, Note P.*

(C), page 7.

“It may be objected that the tenor of the above explanations is anti-Protestant, whereas it is notorious that the Articles were drawn up by Protestants, and intended for the establishment of

¹ See Dr. West's *Discourse on Reserve*.

Protestantism; accordingly, that it is an evasion of their meaning to give them any other than a protestant-drift, possible as it may be to do so grammatically, and in each separate part. * * * * *

But I. It is a duty we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own, to take our reformed Confessions in the most catholic sense they will admit. * * * *

V. The Articles are evidently framed on the principle of leaving open large questions, on which the controversy hinges. They state broadly extreme truths, and are silent about their adjustment. For instance, they say that all necessary faith must be proved from Scripture; but do not say *who* is to prove it. * * * *

They say that Councils called by Princes may err: they do not determine whether Councils called in the name of Christ will err. * * * *

VI. * * Since both Homilies and Articles appeal to the Fathers and Catholic Antiquity, let it be considered whether, in interpreting them by these, we are not going to the very authority to which they profess to submit themselves," &c.—4th Ed. *Feast of St. John Evang.*, 1841. J. H. N.

In accordance with the principles here laid down, the Tract itself is composed throughout. See, especially § 1. On Holy Scripture and the authority of the Church. § 2. On Justification by Faith. § 3. Works before and after Justification. § 4. The Visible Church. § 5. General Councils. § 6. Purgatory, &c. § 7. Sacraments. § 8. Transubstantiation. § 9. Masses.

On all these points, and throughout the Tract, doctrines are maintained totally opposite to the plain sense of the Articles, and to the known design of their framers. And the whole object of the Tract is, evidently, to show that a person may, with a safe conscience, hold the doctrines of one Church, and the endowments of another quite opposed to it.

The Author of the Tract, however, did at length, some years after, as is well known, openly join the Church of Rome; having, some years previously, acknowledged that the censures he had been publicly passing on that Church were, *at the time*, not at all in accordance with his real sentiments!

Yet the public protest against the condemnation of this and similar publications has never been retracted!

And here a question suggests itself which all must allow to be quite pertinent to the matter in hand. Suppose an applicant

for *Institution to a Benefice*, who should hold either such doctrines as the foregoing, or the extreme contrary ones, or any others whatever, to adopt *that system of interpretation* just alluded to, might he not thus *avoid all the difficulties and contests* which might otherwise be apprehended? He would only have to give to all inquiries such answers as might be most satisfactory to the Diocesan; and when in possession of his Living, might preach the direct contrary of what he had before said: alleging that he had been "*using words in a peculiar sense.*"

Those who would regard such a procedure, or anything even remotely approaching to it, as unpardonable in one whose doctrinal views they disapprove, but allowable in the cause of what they consider as orthodoxy,—these, if their sincerity is doubted when they profess to abhor disingenuousness, cannot surely complain of uncharitable treatment.

(D), page 12.

Some Divines of the present day (professedly of our Church) express doubts pretty nearly if not quite amounting to a denial of the doctrine of this Article; teaching that sins committed after Baptism are either totally unpardonable, or are to be atoned for by Penance. See *Rogers's Essays*, vol. ii. Essay ii., pp. 85, 86.

Should such doctrines prevail, they may be expected to lead to a rejection of infant-baptism, and indeed to the practice (of which there were frequent instances in the early Church) of deferring Baptism till the death-bed.

It would to many appear a cruelty to place a person, *without his own consent*, and in a state of infantine unconsciousness, in a situation, so far, much more disadvantageous than that of one brought up a Pagan, that if he did ever (suppose, at the age of fifteen or twenty) fall into sin, he must remain for the rest of his life—perhaps for above half a century—deprived of all hope, or at least, of all confident hope, of restoration to the Divine favour;—shut out from all that cheering prospect which, if his Baptism in infancy *had been omitted*, might have lain before him.

(E), page 13.

I may add that not only the disputants themselves, but many of the by-standers also (even those of them who take little

interest in the issue of the contest) will be disposed to heap abuse or derision on any one who appears to come forward as a mediator. For, the vulgar-minded, of all countries and ages, and of all ranks, find an amusing excitement in the spectacle of a controversy, analogous to that which attracted the ancient Romans to their gladiatorial shows. And hence they are disposed to feel, or to affect, contempt for any one who seeks to mitigate hostility, or to put an end to a contest.

Many also, when they hear of any discussion relating to the *employment of terms*, are disposed at once to turn aside with disdain, or at least indifference, as from some trifling, or at least not very important question. For there are many who have unthinkingly adopted, as self-evident, a theory of IDEAS, which they suppose themselves to understand: though it is, I am convinced, absolutely unintelligible, and tends to throw an indistinctness and confusion over almost all subjects: and they are, in consequence, almost unaware of the important function of Language as an *Instrument of Thought*; imagining its sole use to be, the *expressing* of our thoughts to others. (See *Logic, Introd.* and also *Lessons on Reasoning*, l. 8.)

Of course, the *advocates* of either party in a dispute are likely to be as severely censured by the *other* party, as the peacemaker, by *all*.

And since this severity is so far from being mitigated in cases where Religion is concerned, that on the contrary the phrase "odium theologicum" has become proverbial, I cannot but wonder that, in a very able Article in the *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1850) theological literature "should be spoken of as a protected literature." Indeed, the Reviewer himself seems, in what he had said just above (p. 526) to establish the opposite conclusion. Some remarks on this point, introduced into a recent edition of a vol. of *Essays* (1st Series) I here subjoin.

"The case of Bishop Warburton, however, is only one out of many that could be adduced in disproof of what has been said as to 'theological literature being a protected literature.' The fear of odium may indeed sometimes deter a man from writing *against* the prevailing religion; but if any one in writing *for* it calculates on exemption from attacks, he is not unlikely to be greatly disappointed. If he write in defence of the tenets of his own communion, he may perhaps be assailed (supposing his work

to attract any considerable notice) not only by the members of other communions, but by very many fellow-members of his own; who will perhaps charge him with 'paradox,' or 'heresy;' or with going too far, or not far enough; or with having advanced—or not having advanced—beyond his own original principles; or perhaps with all of these faults at once.¹ Or if, again, he write in defence of Christianity generally, he will probably be censured by a greater number of Christians, of various denominations, than of anti-christians. In the extracts from several writers (to which many others might have been added), printed in parallel columns at the end of the Appendix to the *Logic*, a specimen may be seen of the sort of 'protection' likely to be enjoyed by a work on Christian Evidences. Some who are sincere believers, if not in the *truth* of Christianity, at least in its *utility* to the mass of the People, are afraid that these would be shaken in their belief by inquiry and reflection.² Others, again, being anxious that the People should believe not only in the divine origin of Christianity, but in several *other* things besides, of which *no* satisfactory proof can be afforded, are fearful of giving any one the habit of seeking, and finding good grounds for *one portion* of his faith, lest he should require equally valid reasons for believing the rest, and should reject what cannot be so proved; and, accordingly, they prefer that the whole should be taken on trust—on the strength of mere assertion. And enthusiasts, again, of all descriptions, being accustomed to believe whatever they do believe on the evidence of their own feelings and fancies alone, are most indignant against any one who—in compliance with the apostolic precept—endeavours to give—and to teach others to give—'a reason of the hope that is in them.'

On the whole, therefore, it does not appear that anything like 'protection' can be reckoned on, for works either on Christianity itself, or on any particular doctrines of it."

"¹ That all these complaints have been made not only of the same individual, but *by* members of the same religious party, may seem something almost incredible; but it is a fact.

"² A speaker in an illustrious assembly professed (according to the reporters) his firm adherence to the religion of the Established Church, as being 'the religion of his ancestors.' And this sentiment was received with cheers: some of the hearers probably not recollecting that on that principle the worship of Thor and Woden would claim precedence.

(F), page 16.

“II. Another practical evil of the doctrine of special grace, is the necessity which it implies of some test of God’s favour, and of the reconcilment of Christians to him, beyond and subsequent to the covenant of baptism. St. Paul, it has been seen, insists upon the necessity of regeneration: he declares that ‘the natural man *receiveth not the things of God, neither can know them:*’ he calls the heathen nations ‘*children of wrath,*’ and ‘*sinner of the Gentiles:*’ he speaks of the ‘*old man as being corrupt* according to the deceitful lusts:’ in short, he expresses, under a variety of terms,¹ the assertion of our Saviour, that ‘except a man be born again, of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’ John iii. 3.

“With equal clearness he intimates, that the Christians he addresses *were* thus regenerate: as having ‘*put off the old man* with its deeds; and having become the ‘temple of the *Holy Ghost,*’ and ‘the *members of Christ;*’ as having the ‘*spiritual circumcision,* and being *buried with Christ in baptism;*’ Rom. vi. 3; Col. ii. 12; as having ‘*received the spirit of adoption,*’ Rom. viii. 15; and as ‘*being washed, sanctified, and justified,* in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.’ To the Galatians, ‘bewitched’ as he says they were, ‘that they should not obey the truth,’ he still writes, ‘Ye are the *children of God* by faith in Christ Jesus. For, as many of you as *have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*’ Gal. iii. 26. These addresses and exhortations are founded on the principle that the disciples, by their dedication to God in baptism, had been brought into a state of reconcilment with Him, had been admitted to privileges which the Apostle calls on them to improve. On the authority of this example, and of the undeniable practice of the first ages of Christianity, our Church considers Baptism as conveying regeneration, instructing us to pray, before baptism, that the infant ‘may be *born again,* and made an heir of everlasting salvation;’ and to return thanks, after baptism, ‘that it *hath pleased God to regenerate* the infant

¹ Rom. ii. 6, &c.

with his Holy Spirit, and receive him for his own child by adoption.'

"But, on the contrary, if there is a distinction between special and common grace, and none are regenerate but those who receive special grace, and those only receive it who are elect; baptism is evidently no sign of regeneration, since so many after baptism live profane and unholy lives, and perish in their sins. Therefore, the preacher of special grace must, consistently with his own principles, lead his hearers to look for some new conversion, and expect some sensible regeneration. This brings him to use language in the highest degree perplexing to an ordinary hearer. To take an example from the same writer, whose only fault is the inconsistency to which he is reduced by his attachment to the system of election: 'The best duties of unregenerate men are no better in God's account and acceptance, than abomination. There is nothing that such men do, in the whole course of their lives, but at the last day it will be found in God's register-book, among the catalogue of their sins. This man hath prayed so often, and heard so often; made so many prayers, and heard so many sermons, and done many good works; but yet, all this while, he was in an unconverted estate: these, therefore, are set down in God's day-book in black; and they are registered among those sins that he must give an account for: not for the *substance of the actions* themselves, but because they come from rotten principles, that defile the best actions which he can perform.'¹

"Suppose this language addressed now, as it was originally, to a congregation dedicated to Christ in baptism. What would be the feelings of a plain understanding, or a timid conscience, unable to unravel the windings of these secret things, on learning that the sinfulness or innocency of actions does not depend upon their being permitted or forbidden in the revealed law, but on the doer being in a regenerate or unregenerate state at the time when he performs them? How is this fact of *regeneracy*, upon which no less than eternity depends, to be discovered? The Apostle enumerates the works of the flesh and the fruits of the Spirit; but his test is insufficient, for the two lists are here mixed and

¹ Hopkins on the New Birth. Observe the difference between his language and our judicious Reformer's: 'Since actions which spring not of faith in Christ, are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not *but that they have the nature of sin.*' Art. xiii.

confounded. The hearers appeal to the Church, an authorized interpreter of Scripture. The Church acquaints them, that they were themselves regenerated, and made the children of grace, by the benefit of baptism; while the preacher evidently treats them as if it were possible they might be still unregenerate.”—*Sumner's Apostolical Preaching.*

(G), page 17.

It seems not unlikely that the same causes may have operated in favour of that sect also which rejects the Sacraments altogether. As for the argument which I have known put forward with apparent seriousness, that the *word* SACRAMENT does not occur in Scripture, and that, therefore, we ought not to have any, this can hardly have had any real influence on intelligent minds. For, one might as well urge, that since the word “virtue” does not occur in our Lord’s discourses, therefore He did not mean his followers to practise virtue.

But at the time when that sect arose, a very large proportion of christian ministers, while they were administering to infants a Rite which they spoke of as a Sign of Regeneration, (or New-birth,) at the same time taught—at least, were understood as teaching—that there is no intelligible connexion whatever between the sign and the thing signified, nor any real benefit attached to the Rite. The new-birth they taught their people to hope for at some future indefinite time. And they taught them to believe, as a part of the christian revelation, that, of infants brought to baptism, an uncertain, indefinite number of individuals—*undistinguishable* at that time from the rest—are, by the divine decree, totally and finally excluded from all share in the benefits of Christ’s redemption.

Now, men accustomed to see and hear all this, would be not unlikely to listen with favour to those who declared—professedly by divine inspiration—that “water-baptism,” as they call it, is an empty and superstitious ceremony, originating in a misapprehension of our Lord’s meaning; of which meaning they—gifted with the same inspiration as his Apostles—are commissioned to be interpreters.

And when one Sacrament had been thus explained away, the

rejection of the other also, according to a similar kind of reasoning, would follow of course.

And, after all, this rejection was but the carrying out of a principle of procedure which had been long before sanctioned by others. It had been long before decided that, at the Eucharist, one of the appointed symbols might safely be omitted, and that the perfect spiritual participation by the Communicants in the benefit of the Sacrament is not thereby at all impaired. To dispense with the other symbol also, and likewise with the symbol of the other Sacrament, and then to call this a spiritual celebration of the Sacraments, was only taking a step further in the same direction.

In truth, the abolition of the Sacraments by explaining away, as figurative, words of our Lord which were undoubtedly understood by his hearers at the time literally; or, again, the literal interpretation of his words, "this is my body," which must have been understood at the time figuratively, (for the Apostles could not have supposed that at the Last Supper He was holding in his hands his own literal body;) or the addition of fresh Sacraments not instituted by Him or his Apostles; or a departure from the mode He appointed of celebrating the Eucharist, by the withholding of the cup,—all these, and any other similar liberties taken with Scripture, stand on the same ground, and are equally justifiable, or equally unjustifiable. If certain individuals, or Councils, or other Bodies of men, are really inspired messengers from Heaven, "moved by the Spirit" to declare with infallible certainty the Will of the Lord, then their words are to be received and obeyed with the same deference as those of Peter or Paul. And if they announce any change in the divine dispensations, or give any new interpretation of any part of Scripture, we are bound to acquiesce, even as the Jews were required to do in that great "mystery of the Gospel," the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to Gentiles. It is God who speaks by their mouths; and he who has established any ordinance has evidently the power to abrogate or alter it.

And when persons who make such a claim (or admit it in their leaders) profess to take Scripture for their guide, they must be understood to mean that it is their guide only in the sense attached to it by the persons thus divinely commissioned, and in those points only wherein no additional or different revelation

has been made through these persons. When there has, the *later* revelation, of course, supersedes the earlier.

Nor does it make any real difference whether something be added to the Bible, claiming equal divine authority, or whether merely an alleged infallible *interpretation* be given of what is already written. For an interpretation coming from any Church or person divinely commissioned, and speaking "as the Spirit moveth," is of the same authority with Scripture itself, and must be implicitly received, however at variance with the sense which any ordinary reader would, of himself, attach to the words. And those who completely surrender their own judgment to any supposed infallible interpreter, are, in fact, taking him—not Scripture—for their guide.

"It is most important,—when the expression is used of 'referring to Scripture as the infallible standard,' and requiring assent to such points of faith only as can be thence proved, to settle clearly, in the outset, the important question 'proved to whom?' If any man, or Body of men refer us to Scripture, as the sole authoritative standard, meaning that we are not to be called on to believe anything as a necessary point of faith, on their word, but only on *our own* conviction that it is scriptural, then, they place our faith on the basis, not of human authority, but of divine. But if they call on *us*, as a point of conscience, to receive whatever is proved to *their* satisfaction from Scripture, even though it may appear to *us* unscriptural, then, instead of releasing us from the usurped authority of Man taking the place of God, they are placing on us two burdens instead of one. 'You require us,' we might reply, 'to believe, first, that whatever you teach is *true*; and, secondly, besides this, to believe also, that it is a truth contained in Scripture; and we are to *take your word* for both!'"¹

When, therefore, any such claim is set up, we are authorized and bound to require 'the signs of an Apostle.' Professed ambassadors from Heaven should be called on to show their *credentials*—the miraculous powers which alone can prove their inspiration—on pain of being convicted of profane presumption in daring to 'say, thus saith the Lord, when the Lord hath not spoken.'

Hence, there are probably many intelligent persons who do

¹ *Essay on the Kingdom of Christ*, pp. 211, 212.

not really believe in the existence, in the present day, of inspiration, properly so called, though they continue to employ a language (derived from their predecessors) which implies it. I have adverted to this case in another work, from which I will take the liberty of extracting a passage:—

“It is well known, that there are sects and other parties of Christians, of whose system it forms a part, to believe in immediate, sensible, inspiration—that the preachers are directly and perceptibly moved to speak by the Holy Spirit, and utter what He suggests. Now suppose any one, brought up in these principles, and originally perhaps a sincere believer in his own inspiration, becoming afterwards so far sobered, as to perceive, or strongly suspect, their delusiveness, and so to modify at least his views of the subject, as in fact to nullify all the *peculiarity* of the doctrine, which yet many of his hearers, he knows, hold in its full extent; must he not be strongly tempted to keep up what will probably seem to him so salutary a delusion? Such a case as this I cannot think to be even of rare occurrence. For a man of sound judgment, and of a reflective turn, must, one would think, have it forced on his attention, that he speaks better after long *practice*, than when a novice—better on a subject he has been *used* to preach on, than on a comparatively new one—and better with *premeditation*, than on a sudden; and all this, as is plain both from the nature of the case, and from Scripture, is inconsistent with inspiration. Practice and study cannot improve the immediate suggestions of the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles were on that ground expressly forbidden to ‘take thought beforehand what they should say, or to premeditate; because it should be *given them* in the same hour what they should say.’ Again, he will perhaps see cause to alter his views of some passages of Scripture he may have referred to, or in other points to modify some of the opinions he may have expressed; and this again is inconsistent with the idea of inspiration, at least on *both* occasions.

“Yet with these views of his own preaching, as not really and properly inspired and infallible, he is convinced that he is inculcating the great and important truths of Christianity—that he is consequently, in a certain sense, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, from whom *all* good things must proceed—and that his preaching is of great benefit to his hearers; who yet would cease

to attend to it, were he distinctly to declare to them his own real sentiments. In such a case, he must be very strongly tempted to commit the pious fraud of conniving at a belief which he does not himself sincerely hold; consoling perhaps his conscience with the reflection, that when he professes to be moved by the Spirit, he says what he is convinced is true, though *not true in the sense* in which most of his hearers understand it;—not true in the sense which constitutes that very peculiarity of doctrine wherein perhaps originated the separation of his sect or party from other Christians.”¹

It is probable, however, that many persons deceive both others and themselves by confusing together in their minds differences of *degree*, and differences of *amount*;² and thence imagining (what a little calm reflection must show to be impossible, and, indeed, unintelligible) that there may be different *degrees* of what is properly and strictly termed INSPIRATION: that is, the *miraculous* influence under which we conceive anything that we call an inspired Work to have been written. The existence or non-existence of this inspiration is a question of *fact*; and though there may be different degrees of *evidence* for the existence of a fact, it is plain that one fact cannot be, itself, more or less a fact than another.

Inspiration may extend either to the very words uttered, or merely to the subject-matter of them, or merely to a certain portion of the matter;—to all, for instance, that pertains to *religious* truth,—so as to afford a complete exemption from doc-

¹ *Errors of Romanism*, pp. 87, 88.

² The imperfection of modern languages conduces much to this confusion. In Greek, more and less in *quantity* are expressed by *πλειον* (or *μειζον*) and *ελαττον*; more and less in *degree*, by *μαλλον* and *ηττον*. To a beginner, Aristotle's remark, that though the category of *ποιον* (“of what quality”) admits of degrees, that of *ποσον* (“how much”) does not, is apt to appear paradoxical. In quantity five is less—a smaller number—than ten; but it is what it is—five—as much as the other is what it is—ten. On the other hand, a beautiful object, for instance, may be more beautiful than another; each of them being what it is in a different degree (*μαλλον* or *ηττον*) than the other. So also the quality of *being* rich admits of degrees. One man is richer than another rich man, if he possesses more in quantity of money than the other: but the *money itself* does not admit of degrees; since a penny is no less a penny than a pound is a pound. The Greeks would say, with that distinctness which their language enabled them to attain with ease, that *το πλουτειν* admits of degrees [*μαλλον* or *ηττον*], but that *πλουτος* does not.

trinal error—though not, to matters of Geography, Natural Philosophy, &c. But in every case we understand that to whatever points the inspiration does extend, in these it secures *infallibility*; and infallibility manifestly cannot admit of *degrees*.

When we are speaking of the instructive, the eloquent, the entertaining, &c., we may call one discourse tolerably well-written, another rather better written, and a third better still. Each of them is what it is in a different degree from the others. But we could not with propriety speak of one discourse as being “somewhat inspired,” another, as “rather more inspired,” and again, another, as a good deal inspired.

If any one is distinctly commissioned to deliver a message from Heaven, in any one instance, with infallible proof to himself and to others, that it is such, he is as truly inspired, and his revelation as much a revelation as if he had had revealed to him a hundred times a greater *quantity* of superhuman knowledge. *That* one message is as much God’s Word as any part of Scripture. Even so Paul, who “spoke with tongues more than all” the disciples he was addressing,¹ had not *more* that miraculous gift (though he had the gift of *more* tongues) than any one of them who had been supernaturally taught a single foreign language.

If a man has ascertained, and can prove, that he has had, either in words, or merely in substance, a revelation of some doctrine, or again, an infallible divine assurance of safety from religious errors, he is to be listened to—in reference to *those points to which the inspiration extends*—as speaking with divine authority. But on the other hand, if he has no infallible proofs to give of having received a divine communication, then, though most or all of what he says may be, in fact, perfectly true, he has no right to use such an expression as “the Spirit moveth me to say so and so.” He ought rather to say—what a pious and humble preacher must mean—I hope and trust that what I am setting forth is sound and useful doctrine; *and so far as it is* so, it must be the gift of Him “from whom all good things do proceed;” but *how far* it is so, both you and I must judge as well as we can, by a careful reference to Holy Scripture, with a full consciousness of our own fallibility.

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

(H), page 27.

“Concerning several points of this class,—such as the validity of lay-baptism, or of baptism by heretics or schismatics, &c., questions have been often raised, which have been involved in much unnecessary perplexity, from its being common to mix up together what are in fact *several distinct questions*, though relating to the *same subject*. For instance, in respect of the validity of Lay-baptism, three important and perfectly distinct questions may be raised; no one of which is answered by the answering, either way, of the others: viz. 1st. What has a Church the *right* to determine as to this point? 2ndly. What is the *wisest* and best determination it can make? and, 3rdly. What *has* this or that particular Church *actually* determined? Now persons who are agreed concerning the answer to one of these questions, may yet differ concerning the others; and *vice versa*.”
—*Kingdom of Christ*, Essay II. § 39, p. 282, 283.

With respect to the first question (in reference to lay-baptism) it is plain that, according to the above principles, a Church has a right to admit, or refuse to admit, Members. This right it possesses as a *Society*: as a *christian* Society, sanctioned by our Heavenly Master, it has a right to administer his Sacraments; and it has a right to decide who shall or shall not exercise certain functions, and under what circumstances. If it permit Laymen (that is, those who are excluded from *other* spiritual functions) to baptize, it does, by that permission, *constitute* them its functionaries, in respect of that particular point. And this it has a right to do, or to refuse to do. If a Church refuse to recognise as valid any baptism not administered by such and such officers, then, the pretended administration of it by any one else, is of course null and void, as wanting that sanction of a christian Church, which alone can confer validity.

With respect to the second question, it does appear to me extremely unadvisable—derogatory to the dignity of the ordinance—and tending both to superstition and to profaneness, that the admission, through a divinely-instituted Rite, of members into the Society, should be in any case entrusted to persons not ex-

“¹ See Appendix, Note (O). Hooker, in his 5th Book, maintains at great length the validity of Baptism by laymen and women.

pressly chosen and solemnly appointed to any office in that Society.

Nearly similar reasoning will apply, I think, to the case of Ordinations. What appears to me the wisest course, would be that each Church should require a distinct appointment *by that Church* itself, to any ministerial office to be exercised therein; whether the person so appointed had been formerly ordained or not, to any such office in *another* Church. But the form of this appointment need not be such as to cast any stigma on a former Ordination, by implying that the person in question had *not* been a real and regular minister of *another* distinct Society. For any Church has a fair right to demand that (unless reason be shown to the contrary) its acts should be regarded as valid within the pale of that Church itself: but no Church can reasonably claim a right to ordain ministers for *another* Church.

As for the remaining question,—What is the actual determination as to this point,—*this* is of course a distinct question in reference to each Church.

On this point it is only necessary to remark how important it is, with a view to good order and peace, that *some* determination should be made, and should be clearly set forth, by any Church, as to this and other like practical questions; and that they should not be left in such a state of uncertainty as to furnish occasion for disputes and scruples.¹ Many points of *doctrine*, indeed, that may fairly be regarded as non-essential, it may be both allowable and wise for a Church to leave at large, and pronounce no decision on them; allowing each Minister, if he thinks fit, to put forth his own exposition *as* the result of his own judgment, and not as a decision of the Church. But it is not so, in matters even intrinsically indifferent, where Church-*discipline* is concerned. A minister ought to be as seldom as possible left in the predicament of *not knowing what he ought to do* in a case that comes before him. And though it is too much to expect from a Church composed of fallible men that its decisions on every point should be such as to obtain universal *approbation* as the very best, it is but fair to require that it should at least *give* decisions, according to the best judgment of its Legislators, on points which, in each

¹ See *Appeal on behalf of Church-government*, reprinted in *Bishop Dickinson's Remains*.

particular case that arises, *must* be decided in one way or another.

That so many points of this character should in our own Church be left in a doubtful state, is one out of the many evils resulting from the want of a Legislative Government for the Church: which for more than a century has had none,¹ except the Civil Legislature; a Body as unwilling, as it is unfitted to exercise any such functions. Such certainly was not the state of things designed or contemplated by our Reformers; and I cannot well understand the consistency of those who are perpetually eulogizing the Reformers, their principles and proceedings, and yet so completely run counter to them in a most fundamental point, as to endeavour to prevent, or not endeavour to promote, the establishment of a Church-government; which no one can doubt *they* at least regarded as a thing essential to the well-being, "if not to the permanent existence, of a Church."²—*Kingdom of Christ*, App. (O), pp. 340—342.

In reference to this subject, I insert an extract from a letter from a very intelligent and well-informed pastor in France, relative to the decisions and practices of the Church of Rome.

I have only to add the remark, that if it had been definitively pronounced that baptism by heretics is totally invalid, the Church of Rome could have claimed no *power* over them (any more than over Pagans or Mussulmans) as members, though rebellious members, of that Church. [See Note A. of this Appendix.]

"Les theologiens du concile de Trente, qui avaient étudié Aristote plus que l'évangile, signalèrent 7 canaux de la grace divine; ce sont les 7 *sacraments*. Sur les 7, 6 sont conférés *exclusivement* par les prêtres. Un seul, le *baptême*, peut l'être par un main laïque; mais dans le cas de nécessité. Deplus, le baptême est administré *alors* avec de l'eau *benite* par les prêtres. Chez nous la sage femme qui prévoit un accouchement laborieux, est obligée, par son serment, de porter avec elle de l'eau *bénite*. A peine l'enfant est il venu au jour qu'elle l'*ondoie* avec cette eau consacrée, et même si elle pense que l'enfant mourra avant de sortir du sein de la mère, elle introduit l'eau *bénite*; voila ce

¹ See *Case of Occasional Days and Prayers*, by John Johnson, A.M., Vicar of Cranbrook, in the Diocese of Canterbury.

² See *Speech on presenting a Petition from the Diocese of Kildare*, with Appendix," reprinted in a volume of *Charges and other Tracts*.

qu'une *sage femme* me racontait l'autre jour. D'où je conclus qu'en définitive, *tout* remonte au *prêtre Romain*.

“Quant à la *validité* du baptême des hérétiques, c'est une anomalie curieuse dans l'église Romaine. Les théologiens du concile se partagèrent sur la question de savoir si la *grâce* du baptême procède *ex opere operato* ou *ex opere operantis*. Les cardinaux diplomates du concile, se rappelant qu'un pape avait décidé la *validité* du baptême célébré par les hérétiques, et ne voulant pas convenir qu'un pape s'était trompé, laissèrent la question indécisé, et firent décréter que les enfans des hérétiques ne seraient pas rebaptisés, pourvu que le baptême fût fait *suivant la formule consacrée, et les intentions de l'Eglise*. Alors, se fondant sur cette restriction, nos prêtres Français rebaptisent toujours ceux qu'ils convertissent à leur religion.”

(I), page 27.

The solicitude of our Reformers on this point is manifested in their requiring Sponsors over and above the parents, (if any,) for an infant brought to baptism; and that the sponsors should be of mature age, and *communicants*. [See Canons.] They permitted, indeed, that, in cases of necessity, the Rite should be administered without sponsors; but no candid person can doubt that they always contemplated the application for baptism being made by *some* one who should be understood as engaging for the christian education of the child.

I am aware that it is often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to enforce rigidly the directions of our Church respecting sponsors; but ministers are bound to do their *best* towards complying with those directions, and in every way to guard against the thoughtless carelessness and the irregularities which are so apt to find their way into the administration of this holy Ordinance. One may too often see evinced, in the way in which, by many, the one sacrament is blindly shunned, and the other, as blindly sought, a similar superstition and ignorance.

How much of ignorance and misconception, and of consequent superstition and profaneness, prevails on this subject, you must be but too well aware. One instance would alone suffice to shew this—the shocking profanation so often exhibited—the “christening,” as it is called, of a newly-built ship; a ceremony

commonly attended and sanctioned by (so called) educated persons; who would not, it must be hoped, but through gross ignorance and thoughtlessness, take a part in a solemn mockery of one of Christ's sacraments.

In reference to another point connected with the same subject, I subjoin an extract from an Address to the Clergy of the Diocese, written in 1846:—

“Some cases of irregularity having come under my notice, originating, I have no doubt, in inadvertence, it seems to me not improbable that other instances also, of a like inadvertence, may have occurred, that have not come to my knowledge.

I have accordingly judged it best not to delay noticing this matter till the Visitation, but to bring it before you, *at once*, and in a *general* way; as I would always rather prevent, than censure, any irregularity.

I find that in some instances a practice has grown up of baptizing in private houses, administering the rite *according to the order for Public Baptism*; and accordingly many of the infants thus baptized are, I apprehend, never publickly presented at all to be received into the Congregation, in the parish-church. And this has been done, I have reason to fear, even in some cases in which the Rubric does not contemplate any private baptism at all; merely in compliance with the fancy of the parents to convert into a mere domestic ceremony what ought to be treated as a Church-Sacrament. If such a misapprehension be blameable in any lay-member of the Church, the encouragement of it must be much more censurable in a minister, whose business is to instruct those committed to his charge, and to correct any errors they may fall into.

If you will put before your people the directions contained in the Prayer Book, they will readily understand that you are bound never to administer baptism at all in a private house, except in a *bonâ fide* and duly certified case of pressing danger; and that, when such a case does occur, you are bound to proceed according to the directions so precisely and plainly given in the Rubric.

Other disadvantages likely to result from irregularity in this matter, such as the danger of a total omission of *registration*, I do not advert to at present, because it is sufficient to have pointed out what is, independently of all such considerations, the clear duty of a minister of our Church.”

(K), page 28.

“First, I observe, that though St. Paul clearly refers back to Adam the origin of that natural corruption which requires the atonement of Christ, as the passages already cited have proved; yet he does not in his general practice insist upon Adam’s guilt as the *immediate* cause of divine wrath against those he is addressing, but prefers to take his argument from its effects upon their own personal character. These consequences he represents as indisputable and universal, which must be constantly borne in mind both in the first application to Christ as the author of salvation, and throughout the whole of the Christian’s life and conflict with the world. The first consequence of that ‘fault and corruption of nature,’ which we derive from Adam, is actual sin and transgression of the moral law. The converts at Rome he humbles by a commemoration of the ‘*idolatry, fornication, wickedness, maliciousness, covetousness, and all unrighteousness,*’ to which they had been given up in their unconverted state. i. 29, &c.

“To the Corinthians, after enumerating the heinous sinners who shall not inherit the kingdom of God, he adds,

“‘*Such were some of you.*’ I. vi. 11.

“To the Ephesians he says, ‘You hath (God) quickened, *who were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein in times past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience: among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lust of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.*’ ii. 4. And very emphatically,

“‘Let no man deceive you with vain words; for, *on account of these things, (fornication, uncleanness, covetousness) cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.*’ Eph. v. 6.

“The Colossians he thus reminds of what they owed to Christ: ‘You that were sometime alienated and enemies in your mind *by wicked works*, yet now hath (Christ) reconciled.’ i. 21.

“In the Epistle to the Thessalonians the Gentiles are condemned as living ‘*in the lust of concupiscence.*’ I. iv. 5. In that to Timothy, St. Paul declares himself to have been the chief of

sinners, because he had been a '*blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious.*' I. i. 13.

"Titus he instructs to put his flock in mind of their former sinful life. '*For we ourselves also were sometime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another.*' iii. 3.

"To the Hebrews it was sufficient to show that '*the high priest needed daily to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for those of the people.*' vii. 27.

"So 1 Peter iv. 3, '*The time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.*'

"This, then, is the first consequence of the fall of Adam, evinced by actual sin: '*that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God;*' and ready to embrace with humility and consciousness of guilt the righteousness which is by faith."—*Sumner's Apostolical Preaching*, ch. iii.

"I next observe, that, as far as we may be allowed to judge from the mode in which St. Paul introduces this leading doctrine of Christianity, it appears that he deemed it more necessary and advisable to enforce among his disciples the positive effect of original sin upon their own hearts and lives, than the punishment to which they were liable from the fall of Adam, considered as *their federal head*. He was well aware, that the guilt of actual transgression comes immediately home to the hearer's conscience. Whereas, '*it is the hardest thing in the world to bring carnal reason to submit to and approve of the equitableness of God's proceedings against us for the sin of Adam. Flesh and blood can hardly brook the acknowledgment that it is most righteous, that we should be actually and personally wretched, who were federally disobedient and rebellious.*'*"—*Sumner's Apostolical Preaching*, ch. iii.

(L), page 29.

"I would wish," remarks Bp. Ryder, "generally to restrict the term (regeneration) to the baptismal privileges; and considering them as comprehending not only an external admis-

"¹ Hopkins on the Covenants.

sion into the visible Church, not only a covenanted title to the pardon and grace of the Gospel, but even a degree of spiritual aid vouchsafed, and ready to offer itself to our acceptance or rejection at the dawn of reason. I would recommend a reference to these privileges in our discourses, as talents which the hearer should have so improved as to bear interest; as seed which should have sprung up and produced fruit.

“But at the same time I would solemnly protest against that most serious error (which has arisen probably from exalting too highly the just view of baptismal regeneration) of contemplating all the members of a baptized congregation as *converted*,—as having, all, once known the truth, and entered upon the right path, though some may have wandered from it, and others may have made little progress,—as not therefore requiring (what all by nature, and most it is to be feared through defective principle and practice, require) that ‘transformation by the renewing of the mind;’—that ‘putting off the old man, and putting on the new man,’ which is so emphatically enjoined by St. Paul to his baptized Romans and Ephesians.”—*Extract from Bishop Ryder’s (of Lichfield) Primary Charge to his Clergy.*

“In the baptismal service we thank God for having regenerated the baptized infant by His Holy Spirit. Now from hence it appears that, in the opinion of our Reformers, regeneration and remission of sins did accompany baptism. But in what sense did they hold this sentiment? Did they maintain that there was no need for the seed then sown in the heart of the baptized person to grow up and to bring forth fruit; or that he could be saved in any other way than by a progressive renovation of his soul after the divine image? Had they asserted any such doctrine as that, it would have been impossible for any enlightened person to concur with them. But nothing can be conceived more repugnant to their sentiments than such an idea as this: so far from harbouring such a thought, they have, and that too in this very prayer, taught us to look to God for that total change both of heart and life which, *long since their days, has begun to be expressed* by the term ‘regeneration.’ After thanking God for regenerating the infant by His Holy Spirit, we are taught to pray ‘that he being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin;’ and then, declaring the total change to be the necessary mean of his obtaining salvation, we add, ‘so that finally, with

the residue of thy holy Church, he *may* be an inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom.' Is there (I would ask) any person that can require more than this? Or does God in his word require more? There are two things to be noticed in reference to this subject, the *term* 'regeneration' and the *thing*. The term occurs but twice in the Scriptures: in one place it refers to baptism, and is distinguished from the renewing of the Holy Ghost, *which, however, is represented as attendant on it*; and in the other place it has a totally distinct meaning unconnected with the subject. Now the *term* they use as the *Scripture* uses it, and the *thing* they require as strongly as any person can require it. They do not give us any reason to imagine that an adult person can be saved without experiencing all that *modern* divines [*Ultra-Protestant divines*] have included in the term 'regeneration:' on the contrary, they do both there and in the liturgy insist upon a radical change of both heart and life. Here, then, the only question is, *not* 'Whether a baptized person can be saved by that ordinance without sanctification,' but whether God does always accompany the sign with the thing signified? Here is certainly room for difference of opinion, *but it cannot be positively decided in the negative*, because we cannot know, or even judge, respecting it in any case whatever, except by the fruits that follow; and, therefore, in all fairness, it may be considered only as a doubtful point; and if he appeal, as he ought to do, to the holy Scripture, they certainly do in *a very remarkable way accord with the expressions in our liturgy*. St. Paul says, 'By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles—whether we be bond or free—and have been all made to *drink into one Spirit*.' And this he says of all the visible members of Christ's body, (1 Cor. xii. 13, 27.) Again, speaking of the whole nation of Israel, infants, as well as adults, he says, 'They were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and *that rock was Christ*,' (1 Cor. x. 1, 4.) Yet, behold, in the very next verse he tells us that, 'with many of them God was displeased, and overthrew them in the wilderness.' In another place he speaks yet more strongly still: 'As many of you (says he) as are baptized into Christ have put on Christ.' Here we see what is meant by the expression, 'baptized into Christ;' it is

precisely the same expression as that before mentioned of the Israelites being ‘baptized unto Moses;’ the preposition, *etc.*, is used in both places; it includes all that had been initiated into his religion by the right of baptism, and of them universally does the Apostle say, ‘*They have put on Christ.*’ Now, I ask, have not the persons who scruple the use of that prayer in the baptismal service equal reason to scruple the use of these different expressions?

“Again, St. Peter says, ‘Repent and be baptized every one of you *for the remission of sins.*’ (Acts ii. 38, 39.) And in another place, ‘Baptism doth now save us.’ (1 Pet. iii. 21.) And speaking elsewhere of baptized persons who were unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, he says, ‘*He hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.*’ (2 Pet. i. 9.) *Does not this very strongly countenance the IDEA WHICH OUR REFORMERS ENTERTAINED, THAT THE REMISSION OF OUR SINS, AND THE REGENERATION OF OUR SOULS, IS ATTENDANT ON THE BAPTISMAL RITE?* Perhaps it will be said that the inspired writers spake of persons who had been baptized at an adult age. But if they did so in some places, they certainly did not in others; and where they did not, they must be understood as comprehending all, whether infants or adults; and therefore the language of our liturgy, which is not a whit stronger than theirs, may be both subscribed and used without any just occasion of offence.

“Let me then speak the truth before God: though I am no Arminian, *I do think the refinements of Calvin have done great harm in the Church*: they have driven *multitudes from the plain and popular way of speaking used by the inspired writers*, and have made them unreasonably and unscripturally squeamish in their modes of expression; and I conceive that the less addicted any person is to systematic accuracy, the more he will accord with the inspired writers, and the more he will approve the views of our reformers. I do not mean, however, to say that a slight alteration in two or three instances would not be an improvement, since it would take off a *burthen* from many minds, and supersede the necessity of laboured explanations; but I do mean to say that there is no such objection to these expressions as to deter any conscientious person from giving his unfeigned assent and consent to the liturgy altogether, or from using the particular expressions which we have been endeavouring to explain.”—*Simeon’s Works*, vol. ii., p. 259.

“In the case of infant baptism, there are evidently no similar means of ascertaining the actual disposition. The benefit received is strictly gratuitous, or ‘of free grace.’ It is promised, however, to faith and obedience, presupposed in the recipient, and pledged in his name by the sponsors: whence it follows that the blessing attached to the sacrament must fail, if the conditions fail in those who are capable of performing them: and that the faith and obedience must become actual and personal, in those who arrive at mature age. It has not altered the nature of Christianity, that its external privileges are become national. Whoever, therefore, professes the hope of the Gospel, must individually embrace the doctrine of the Gospel: must consent as sincerely as the earliest converts, to refer whatever he does in word or deed to the glory of God: with the primitive humility of the Apostles must renounce all confidence in his own strength, and must look for salvation through Christ’s death with as much personal gratitude as if Christ had suffered for him alone. Though in many cases it may be impossible, as was formerly acknowledged, for those who have been placed in covenant with God by baptism, to state at what time and by what process the truths of the Gospel became an active principle in the mind, still it is undeniable that in all who attain the age of reason they must become so, or the covenant is made void: and it is a definite and intelligible question whether they have actually taken this hold, or no. How the tree was nourished and invigorated, and enabled to sustain the inclement seasons which opposed its early growth and strength, we may in vain inquire; but whether it bears fruit or not, and whether that fruit gives evidence of a sound stock, any one may examine either as to himself or others. Is the heart possessed of a sincere conviction of its own sinfulness and need of a Saviour: does it manifest its dependence on the Holy Spirit by an habitual intercourse with God through prayer: does it feel a practical sense of the great business of this life as a probation and preparation for eternity? These are infallible characters of faith: and though they will be found in different degrees in different individuals, no one should be satisfied with himself, and no one should suffer his congregation to be satisfied, till he can trace these characters in the heart.

“But if such a frame of mind is indispensable to a Christian’s reasonable hope, it is evident that a preacher can in no wise take

it for granted that it exists in his hearers as the necessary and certain consequence of baptism; but must require of all who have the privilege of baptism, that they strive to attain it; that, being *regenerate* in condition, they be also *renewed* in nature: and constantly examine themselves whether they have this proof within them, that they are born of the *Spirit* as well as of *water*, and can make the 'answer of a good conscience towards God.'"—*Sumner's Apostolical Preaching*, ch. vii.

It is not, however, by those only who *approve* of the doctrine which I have attributed to our Reformers, that this interpretation of their words is adopted. Several persons also who *disapprove* it, both Dissenters and (what is very remarkable) Churchmen, concur in adopting an interpretation substantially the same.

As for the former of these—the Dissenters—their testimony will, I suppose, be considered as of the less weight in proportion as they may be suspected of being unconsciously biassed by a wish to alienate others from a Church to which they do not themselves belong. But the reverse is the case with those who are members, and even ministers, of our Church; since *their* bias, if any, must be on the opposite side.

Now there is a case recorded of a beneficed clergyman who, not many years ago, felt it his duty to print and circulate among his parishioners tracts censuring the Formularies of the Church on the very ground of their inculcating the doctrine in question. For this procedure he was tried in an Ecclesiastical Court, and sentenced to suspension.

Some of his parishioners endeavoured thereupon to raise a subscription for him; and with that view put forth a printed circular (of which a copy was sent to me), representing him as a martyr suffering persecution for conscience-sake. And there might have been some ground for this representation, if he had *voluntarily resigned* the endowments of a Church which he regarded as fundamentally unsound, instead of retaining them as long as he was permitted to do so.

The system of morality—whatever it was—by which he reconciled this to his conscience, seems to have been adopted by a portion at least of his flock.

But at any rate, he could have had no conceivable bias towards an interpretation of the Formularies of his Church which would make them at variance with his own teaching.

(M), page 36.

Extract from Tract on Confirmation.

“All persons ought to receive the holy Communion of the Lord’s Supper on the very first opportunity after being confirmed. Our Church directs that ‘no one shall be admitted to the Communion except one who has been confirmed, or is ready and is desirous to be confirmed;’ and again, that ‘ALL PERSONS’ (that is, of course, all who are not too young or too ignorant for Confirmation) ‘shall receive the Communion at least three times a year.’ From this it is plain that though such as have not been confirmed, may, if they are prepared and willing to be so, attend without any scruple, the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; on the other hand, no one, who *has* been confirmed, ought to delay receiving that Sacrament. The Catechism also, designed for the instruction of children before Confirmation, proves the same thing: since it contains an explanation of the *two* Sacraments.

Some persons entertain a groundless notion, that a child, who is fit for Confirmation, may yet be too young to receive the Communion: and many, it is to be feared, for this and for other reasons, go on from Sunday to Sunday, and from year to year, putting off this duty, in expectation of becoming more *fit* for it; when it is likely that they are becoming every day *less* fit, and are falling into a careless and irreligious state of mind.

But if you will consider the matter carefully, you will see that our Church is quite right in determining that all, who have been confirmed, should receive the Lord’s Supper without delay. For all of them, it is to be hoped, understand and rightly reflect on the one Sacrament—that of Baptism; if they do not, the ceremony of Confirmation is a mere empty mockery: and if they do, they are capable of sufficiently understanding and valuing the other Sacrament also: and in that case, they ought not to delay receiving it.

Accordingly provision has been made to prevent any such delay, by celebrating the Lord’s Supper in each Church *immediately after the Confirmation*: and all the young persons who shall have been confirmed, will be expected to attend.

‘To-day therefore, if ye will hear God’s voice, while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin,’—accept his gracious offer; and continue from this time forth to be a regular attendant at his Holy Table.

CONFIRMATION HYMN.

LORD, shall thy children come to Thee ?
A boon of love divine we seek ;
Brought to thine arms in infancy,
Ere heart could feel, or tongue could speak,
Thy children pray for grace that they
May come themselves to Thee this day.

LORD, shall we come ? and come again,
Oft as we see yon table spread,
And—tokens of thy dying pain—
The wine pour'd out, the broken bread ?
Bless, bless, O LORD, thy children's prayer,
That they may come and find Thee there !

LORD, shall we come, not thus alone,
At holy time, or solemn rite,
But every hour till life be flown,
In weal or woe, in gloom or light ;
Come to thy throne of grace, that we
In Faith, Hope, Love, confirm'd may be ?

LORD, shall we come—come yet again :—
Thy children ask one blessing more :—
To come not now alone, but then,
When life, and death, and time are o'er ;
Then, then to come, O LORD, and be
Confirm'd in heav'n,—confirm'd by Thee.'

THE END.

PROTECTIVE MEASURES

IN BEHALF OF THE

ESTABLISHED CHURCH,

CONSIDERED IN

A CHARGE,

TO THE

DIOCESES OF DUBLIN, GLANDALAGH, AND KILDARE,

DELIVERED AUGUST, 1851.

BY

RICHARD WHATELY, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

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LEGISLATION

IN BEHALF OF THE CHURCH.

IN calling your attention, my Reverend Brethren, as I now propose to do, to some transactions and discussions that have taken place in Parliament and elsewhere, since we last met, I shall of course confine myself as much as possible to the religious rather than the political aspect of each subject.

It has indeed always been my own practice, as you are well aware, to take little or no part in questions of a purely political character; and to keep aloof entirely from all political parties.

But there are many questions that are partly of a political and partly of a religious character. And in adverting to any of these, it is important, in all cases, to guard against confusedly blending together the two views,—the political and the religious—that may be taken of each subject; and to avoid, on such an occasion as the present, any full discussion of the former.

*Importance of
keeping dis-
tinct, political
and religious
questions.*

*Assumption of
ecclesiastical
titles by Ro-
man-Catholic
functionaries.*

This caution is peculiarly requisite in reference to the subject which has of late occupied so much of the public attention, the legislation which has taken place relative to the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishopricks.

Whatever encroachments may have been attempted on the rights or the dignity of the Sovereign, and whatever legislative measures may have been necessary for the maintenance of those rights and of that dignity, it should always be carefully borne in mind that each man's religious persuasion must be defended—and *can* only be defended—by himself. As his Faith cannot be wrested from him against his will, by the act of another, so, neither can it be maintained in its purity by legal enactments. Against religious dangers, our People must be taught, and trained, and sedulously warned, to defend themselves, instead of relying on anything that Government can do for them.¹ To those who are not

*Effectual pro-
tection against
danger to reli-
gion.*

¹ Being desirous of ascertaining how far, in relation to one point, our Protestant Church had been affected, by the existence, or by the removal, of *penal laws and civil disabilities*, I have obtained returns of the numbers of new churches and other places of worship under the Establishment which had been opened during the last century, and during the first half of the present. It appears that (besides some cases of rebuilding) there were *but five* new churches erected in the diocese of Dublin during the whole of the eighteenth century, great as was the increase of population. In the present century, *forty-seven* new churches have been opened;

themselves earnest and vigilant, as no divine aid is promised, so, no human aid can be availing.

In reference to the religious portion of the question, there is no need that I should say much at present. My sentiments have long been well-known, on the subject of the claim of the Church of Rome,—or of *any* Church¹—to supreme dominion over all Christians. And you are also well aware, that, strong as are my own convictions on this and on several other points, I have always been opposed to the enforcement of them on others by secular means;—to the infliction of civil penalties or disabilities on those whom I believe to be in error.²

It is important, however, to remember — what some persons seem, very strangely, to have almost forgotten,— that those claims of the Church of Rome

*Claims of
the Church
of Rome,
not novel.*

which have been adverted to are nothing *new*, but have existed for many Ages, and are, in fact, an essential part of that system against which our

besides twelve licensed places of worship for the accommodation of the remoter parts of populous parishes; making a total of *fifty-nine*. And this increase has been going on in a continually-accelerated ratio. The number of the clergy increased, during the same interval, from 115 to 206.

¹ Note (A), Appendix.

² I took occasion, in this place, to refer my hearers to the little Tracts entitled *Cautions for the Times*, drawn up with some assistance from me, and under my supervision; as containing a fuller exposition of several points that are here briefly touched on.

ancestors revolted and protested, at the Reformation.

Of this no one can be really ignorant; and yet some seem to have so far forgotten it, that they have apparently felt *wonder* mixed with their indignation—as at some startling novelty—at the language of arrogant assumption employed by the Court of Rome; as if it were a thing possible, and consistent, to put forth, and act on, the claim to be Christ's Vicegerent on Earth, and supreme spiritual Ruler of the christian World, in terms that would, to *us*, appear modest and reasonable!¹

The only novelty is, as you are aware, the substitution, in England of regular Roman-Catholic Bishops for Vicars-Apostolical, exercising all the episcopal functions, but acting as merely deputies of the Pope, and liable to summary removal at his pleasure. The style, however, in which this change was

¹ Some I believe, have remarked that there is a more modest tone, and less of haughty assumption, in the language of the Apostles, who certainly claimed and possessed immediate divine inspiration, than in that of the Court of Rome.

But it should be remembered that *they* appealed to the miracles which they—*confessedly*—wrought, before friends and adversaries. And a style of vehement assertion and imperious and proud pretension is the more to be expected from any one in proportion as he has the less of decisive proof on which to rest his claims to submission.

Still, it is hardly conceivable that *any* claim to immediate absolute authority from Heaven could be put forth or implied by any one, in terms that would not seem arrogant to those who denied that claim.

announced was such as to require, in the opinion of many persons, some precautionary measure on our part, to guard some of our fellow-subjects against the mistake of supposing that the acts of the Church of Rome have any legal validity in this country.

Several intelligent persons with whom I have conversed on the subject were of opinion that this object might have been sufficiently accomplished by a royal *Proclamation*; or, by simple *Resolutions* of the Houses of Parliament, declaratory of their unalterable reverence for the royal prerogative.

A Proclamation might, it was urged, have set forth and explained to the People, that all acts done, or titles conferred, by any foreign Power (and not ratified by our Government) are in the eye of the Law, totally null and void, whatever submission or compliance any individual may in his own conscience think himself bound to: and that no one need fear any interference with his religious liberty, except such as he may of his own accord determine to submit to.

Such an explanation—it was urged—might be not really (as at first sight it might appear) superfluous and uncalled for, on such an occasion as the present; considering the strange misapprehensions that exist in some minds as to several points connected with the subject, and—among others—as to the meaning of the declaration that “no foreign Prelate or Potentate hath or ought to have any power or jurisdiction within this Realm.”

*Meaning of
the oath of ab-
juration.*

It may seem strange that any one should need to have it explained to him, that the thing meant is *legal* power. But some, even Protestants, have been so inconsiderate as to speak of this declaration as manifestly untrue; because, say they, the Pope notoriously does possess power in this country; that is, *influence over the minds* of those who feel themselves bound in conscience to obey him: as if the framers of the declaration could have been ignorant of that fact; and as if the very reason for its being framed had not been—as it evidently was—the knowledge that the Pope *had* adherents in the Country; which circumstance made it requisite in certain cases to disown his authority; that is, of course, his *lawful* authority. And as for any precedence, title, or office, granted by the Government of this Country to any officers appointed by a foreign Prelate, these being of course revocable at pleasure by the Government which grants them, are far from being at all at variance with the above declaration; since, if any one considers such Office, &c., to emanate from a superior Power, superseding that of our Government, he must regard it as what no Government of ours can either confer or take away.

In like manner, the words in our Thirty-seventh Article declaring that “The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction within this Realm,” would have been superfluous, had it not been notorious not only that

he *claimed* supremacy, but also that there were persons who admitted that claim.¹

Such a Proclamation then (or Resolutions to the same effect) would, it was urged, have been timely, and also sufficient for every desirable object; and would have obviated the long and irritating debates that have taken place; while the royal Prerogative—since that *does not emanate from parliamentary enactment*—would have been even more effectually vindicated.

¹ “The Emperor of Russia has no power to return members to our Parliament; but it would be possible for him to employ agents to bribe electors. Joanna Southcote had no jurisdiction &c. in England—and no Roman-Catholic would have scrupled to say this—but she had followers who thought themselves bound to obey her. A private man has not power of life and death (*ἐξουσίαν*) over his neighbours, but he has the physical power (*δύναμιν*) to murder one of them. So, also, the Pretender was abjured, and very rightly: but it is well known that many of his adherents, in their hearts, acknowledged and were ready to obey him. And it would have been a folly to ask a man to swear that he knew the *inmost thoughts* of every British subject.

“But, in truth, it was precisely *because* the Pope and the Pretender were known to have adherents, and to exercise a control over them, that those oaths were framed, in which the swearer proclaimed his opinion that they had no legal right to obedience, and ought not to be invested with any. The two clauses [‘neither hath, nor ought to have’] were aimed specially at two classes of Roman-Catholics: one of whom contended that Queen Mary’s acts restoring the Pope’s supremacy were never *legally* repealed—for they considered Elizabeth as a bastard, and, besides, solemnly deposed by the Pope; the other confessed that the Pope had no power by the law of England, but that it *ought to be* restored to him.”—From a very sensible pamphlet on *Papal Aggressions*, p. 13.

For, the Crown (it was observed) being, by the Constitution, and independently of any new enactment, the "Fountain of Honour," and the royal Prerogative being evidently—no less than the rights of Parliament—a part of that Constitution, which assigns to each branch of the Legislature its own proper functions, it is important to guard against even the appearance of any interference of one branch with the rights of another.

Objections to the passing, and to the rejection of the Ecclesiastical-Titles Bill.

As for the course actually adopted, I saw such strong objections both to the *passing* of the Bill as it stood, and to the *rejection* of it by the House of Lords, and again, to the attempt to introduce into it, at that stage, any *alterations*, that I could not bring myself to be a party to either course; and accordingly I abstained from voting at all.

If however, as is expected by many, and wished apparently by many more, the law now enacted shall never be actually enforced, but remain a dead letter, it will, in that case, be nearly equivalent to such a Proclamation or Resolution, as I have been alluding to; though at the expense of a far greater loss of valuable time, and with more risk of generating animosity and discontent, and of diminishing men's reverence for the laws.

When, however, I speak of objections to the passing of the Bill, I do not mean that its provisions are what I could reasonably deprecate, if such a law had been enacted in reference to those of my

own Communion. If, for instance, I were an American or Scotch Episcopalian, and it were forbidden by law that any one should be styled Bishop of Philadelphia, or of Vermont, of Glasgow, or of Edinburgh, &c.; or Rector or Curate of such and such a Parish, and we were required to designate ourselves as Bishop or as Pastor "*of the Protestant Episcopalians*" of each District, I do not see that we should be justified in calling this a persecution or an insult. For, after all, it is not the *territory*, but the *People*, that are placed under our superintendence. Over those of our own Communion, our Church gives us a certain degree of authority. And as for those of any other religious persuasion, we are bound,—generally indeed to the whole Human Race,—but more especially to our own parishioners and our other neighbours, to endeavour to aid in imparting to them whatever benefits we can, and especially whatever useful instruction (be it much or little) they will consent to receive. But in all cases, it is with the *persons* inhabiting a certain district, not with the district itself considered as a portion of the Earth's surface, that we as christian Ministers are connected.¹

¹ Those who speak of a Bishop or other Minister possessing, by virtue of apostolical succession, inherent and exclusive right over all Christians within his Diocese or Parish, seem to forget that, on this principle, the Protestant inhabitants of any Diocese and Parish on the Continent, over which a Roman-catholic Bishop and Rector have been duly appointed, would be left to the

But *groundless* alarms and *fancied* affronts will often produce real and great uneasiness and disturbance; such as one would gladly avoid, when there is no important object to be gained on the other side. And the danger was so manifest, of agitators in this country taking advantage of the present occasion to excite apprehensions and discontents, (though such attempts have, I believe, hitherto, at least—though aided by the injudicious language of some well-intentioned but inconsiderate protestants—been happily unsuccessful) that it was proposed, as you are aware, by several persons, to exclude Ireland from the provisions of the Act.

*Importance
of not violating
the Act of
Union.*

This virtual separation of the Irish branch of the United Church from the English, in violation of a most solemn compact in the Act of Union, I have heard defended as a sacrifice of “theory” to “political expediency.”

It is by suggestions of this kind that the very word “expediency” has come to be, itself, odious to many persons; as having been associated, in their minds, with the idea of some violation of duty.

But I have always deprecated such an application of the term. Besides that, in the highest sense, nothing can be really and ultimately expedient that is at variance with the principles of rectitude. I do not believe that even mere worldly expediency

alternative of either conforming to what they are convinced is an erroneous religion, or else being left without any Pastor at all, and without the possibility of obtaining any.

is ultimately promoted by departure from the strict rules of justice.¹

In the present case, most assuredly, nothing could have been more *inexpedient* than the proposed abandonment of (what was called "Theory," *i. e.*) principle. The advocates of it probably imagined that if any Act were passed extending to England alone, Ireland would *remain in the same situation as before* the passing of it. But any one may perceive, on a very little reflection, that this could not have been the case. If there are two roads from a certain spot, and a notice be posted upon *one* of them, warning all persons that it is private, and that they will be guilty of a trespass if they pass along *this* road, you could not doubt that every one would conclude the *other* road to be a public thoroughfare. In like manner, a prohibition by law of *any* thing whatever, in one part of the empire,

¹ The reader is cautioned to keep in mind the distinction—often, in this case, overlooked—between two totally distinct questions:—(1) Whether *any* such legislation as has taken place was desirable; (2) whether, in the course adopted, *whatever* it might be, England and Ireland should be kept together, or separated.

On the former of these questions, the Address to the Queen from the Irish Prelates pronounces nothing decisive. It is with the latter of the two that it is occupied.

In the Appendix (B) are subjoined this Address, together with that to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Grace's answer. And to these is added an extract from the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, containing a statement of some facts which are too little known.

excluding another part, is sure to be understood as equivalent to a *sanction* of it in the latter.

It would have been understood, therefore, that what *had been done in reference to Galway* had been deliberately sanctioned by the legislature, and might be allowably repeated to any extent in Ireland.

It would have been understood, in short, that one portion of the royal prerogative had *required*, and received, *parliamentary* confirmation in England, and was *abandoned* in Ireland: abandoned, not on any grounds of justice or of kindness, but of fear; thus holding out an encouragement to indefinite encroachments.

And, moreover, a virtual violation of one of the Articles of the Act of Union, while that Act remains unrepealed, would have placed us in a most unfavourable position in reference to those who agitate for a repeal of the Union altogether. For, a repeal of any law, in a regular way, however unwise and mischievous, cannot be called *illegal*; and the advocates of such repeal could not well have been censured by those who should have violated its provisions indirectly, and as it were by a side-wind, while the law remained unrepealed. And it would have been in vain to allege that the whole question related to a matter of subordinate importance,—a mere point of detail;¹ since, however true this may

¹ Such as the uniting of certain dioceses,—those of Bristol and Gloucester, for instance, in England, and several in Ireland.

be, (and I do not undertake to disprove it) it is certain the *English Public thought quite otherwise*. Supposing that it was really a matter of small consequence that for so many months agitated the Nation and the Parliament, *they* at least deemed it one of vital importance.

And what, after all, would have been the *conciliation* effected by such a compromise as was proposed? One cannot doubt that those it was designed to conciliate would have said—either openly or secretly —“if this measure is *no* hardship—no oppression or insult to any one,—and is only what is requisite for the reasonable protection of Protestants, why do you not extend this protection to two millions of them in Ireland? But if it *is* a hardship and an uncalled-for procedure, why do you inflict that hardship on two millions of Roman-catholics in England, except it is that these are not yet powerful enough to overawe you? For it has not been shown that there is any difference (as far as regards the present question) between the Roman-catholics of Ireland and those of England, except in *numbers*; or that this numerical difference furnishes any argument except those addressed to fear. You seem therefore to be proclaiming, in each country, that you are influenced by no sentiments of justice, or generosity, or kindness, or humanity, towards either party; but that you will yield *any* thing to fear, and nothing to any other consideration. While, therefore, we *hate* you for what you *with-*

*hold, we no less despise you for what you concede."*¹

Such, I cannot doubt, would have been the first (though not the last) deplorable consequence of being diverted from the straight path, by the temptation of an apparent, but unreal and delusive, expediency.

While, therefore, I am unable to profess myself well satisfied with the course that has actually been adopted, I can most heartily congratulate you on the rejection (by the almost unanimous decision of the legislature) of one which would have been incomparably more dangerous, besides being what, to me and to very many others, appears no less than dishonourable.²

¹ I should not have expressed myself so strongly (though I should have felt the same) if the proposed course had been actually adopted by Parliament. For when a law is actually passed, and there is *no reasonable hope of its repeal*, we should be very cautious in publicly uttering predictions of dangers and discontents, lest we should thus become the means of engendering or aggravating them.

² It is my belief that the proposal in question was advocated by many who had no thought of doing anything that was dishonourable, or that tended to impair the Union. And I am led to think, by the different tone that prevailed, at first and subsequently, that the greater part of them afterwards perceived, on further reflection, the real tendency and probable effects of such a measure, and thereupon abandoned the idea. They perceived probably that such a procedure would have been not unreasonably attributed to fear, even if that motive had not been—as it was—openly avowed and strongly dwelt on.

*The whole business of agitation is
to get the public mind into a state of
excitement, and then to lead it to
the conclusion that the only way to
relieve the suffering is by the
abolition of the Union.*

On the Bill which was brought in (after passing the House of Commons¹) for the modification of the oath required of Members of Parliament, I need say but very little; as my opinions on that subject have long been before you, and before the public. And accordingly it would perhaps have been hardly necessary on that occasion, to speak at all in the House, but for the prevailing misapprehensions on the subject; which were unfortunately favoured by the form and title of the Bill introduced. I felt myself called on, therefore, to state my objection to that Bill, although I voted for it as being a step in the right direction, and far less objectionable than the law as it now stands.

*Supposed
protection to
Christianity
by the Decla-
ration, on the
true faith of a
Christian.*

But the *grounds* on which I gave that vote being quite different from that of several other persons who advocated the same conclusion, it became necessary to explain briefly what those grounds were.²

My object is, as you are doubtless well aware,

¹ One of the curious circumstances connected with the present anomalous state of things on this point, is to find the *House of Lords* insisting on deciding who shall or shall not be allowed—after being duly elected—to take his seat in *the other House*; and repeatedly rejecting (though by diminishing majorities) the decision of the Commons on that question.

² For the same reason, the Bishop of Norwich, who took a similar view, spoke to the same effect.

not the relief or benefit of Jews as such, but the removal of all religious tests connected with civil office. Such tests, which are regarded by some as a safeguard and an honour to Christianity, are, in my view, detrimental and dishonourable to it. What I have always aimed at, is, not that Jews,—either many or few,—should sit in Parliament, but that electors—Christian electors—should not be impeded in their choice of the person they may fix on to represent them, where no *detriment to the public can be proved* to arise from leaving them thus at liberty.

And accordingly I have always maintained, that if any one who had advocated the removal of tests which exclude Jews, or Roman-catholics, should afterwards, as an elector, think fit to give a preference to christian candidates, or to protestant candidates, he would be guilty of no inconsistency. He would be only making a legitimate use of that right of free choice which he was willing to impart to his neighbours.

But the removal of unnecessary restrictions on liberty—strongly as I am opposed to them—is far from being the principal object I have in view. Far more anxious am I for the removal of what I regard as a discredit to Christianity, and a departure from the principles of its divine Author: of Him who declared that his “kingdom is not of this world,” and who charged men to “render to Cæsar” (the idolatrous Roman emperor) “the things that

are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's."¹

And his Apostles, in all their preaching, and in all their conduct, explained and confirmed his doctrine. Can any one imagine to himself those Apostles secretly enjoining, or permitting, their disciples to enact, whenever they should become sufficiently powerful,² laws to exclude the emperor from his throne, and the magistrate from his bench, and the senator from his seat, unless they would make a declaration "on the true faith of a Christian?" If I could believe them to have entertained

¹ Our Lord and his Apostles, however, while inculcating the right of a civil governor to obedience from his subjects, as individuals, and in their secular concerns, had certainly no thought of committing the office of governing in spiritual matters the Jewish, or any christian *Church*, as such, to any one not a member of the same.

The case of the sovereign, therefore, (in this country) is a peculiar one; as the "Headship of the Church" is annexed to the civil office.

What is the precise character and whole extent of this Headship—and whether it would be possible and desirable so to explain and so to modify it, as to do away with the necessity of imposing a religious test on the sovereign,—these are questions which need much reflection and inquiry, and which could not be suitably discussed on this occasion.

It is worth remarking, however, that some seem to imagine it a necessary and fundamental law of the Constitution that the sovereign should be a *member of the Established Church*; forgetting that there are in Britain *two* established Churches; and also that the restriction relating to Protestantism was introduced, under very peculiar circumstances, only about a century and a half ago.

² See *Essays on the Kingdom of Christ*, Essay I. § 71.

a secret design (evidently none such was, or could be, avowed) to convert hereafter Christ's Kingdom into one of this world by fortifying it with secular penalties or disabilities inflicted on all who would not profess their faith, I could not regard them (considering all that they said and did) as other than base dissemblers.

To my mind, therefore, the whole question of the truth or falsity of the Gospel is involved in the decision of the point now before us. And this is a matter of far more importance than the freedom of elections.

If any sufficient reasons could be offered for thinking these views erroneous, I trust (as I declared in my place in the House) that I should not be withheld from changing them by any dread of the imputation of what is commonly—though most erroneously—called inconsistency.¹ But I am confirmed in my opinion by finding the arguments on

¹ "A charge of *inconsistency*, as it is one of the most disparaging, is also one that is perhaps the most frequently urged with effect, on insufficient grounds. Strictly speaking, inconsistency (such at least as a wise and good man is exempt from) is the maintaining *at the same time* of two contradictory propositions; whether expressed in language, or implied in sentiments or conduct. As *e. g.* if an author, in an *argumentative* work, while he represents every syllogism as futile and fallacious reasoning, admits that *all* reasoning may be exhibited in the form of syllogisms; or, if the same person who censures and abhors oppression, yet practises it towards others; or if a man prescribes two medicines which neutralize each other's effects, &c.

"But a man is often censured as inconsistent, if he *changes* his plans or his opinions on any point. And certainly if he does this

which it is based,—arguments publicly and repeatedly urged, many years ago,—entirely unanswered. Not even any attempt at refutation has ever, as far as I know, appeared, up to this day. The arguments and the declamations on the opposite side are still brought forward again and again, without any notice at all of the replies that have been given to them.¹

For instance, it is continually urged, that, to allow a Jew to be eligible to Parliament would imply indifference to Christianity: does it then—it was replied—argue indifference to *Protestantism*, to remove disabilities from Roman-catholics? or indifference to our own Church, to allow dissenters to be eligible? If a *christian* Country is bound, as such, jealously to exclude Jews, is not a *Protestant* Country equally bound to exclude Roman-catholics, and an *Episcopalian* Country, Presbyterians?²

This is, I admit, only a personal argument, not applicable to those (now but a small number) who are for making conformity to the Established Church

often, and lightly, that is good ground for withholding confidence from him. But it would be more precise to characterize him as *fickle* and unsteady, than as *inconsistent*; because this use of the term tends to confound one fault with another; viz. with the holding of two incompatible opinions *at once*.”—*Elements of Rhet.* p. 2, ch. iii., § 5.

¹ See Note (C), Appendix.

² See Speech on the Jewish Relief Bill, published in the volume of *Charges and Tracts*.

an essential condition of the enjoyment of civil rights. But the argument is valid as far as it goes; and ought to put to silence all declamations about indifference to Christianity in those who do not go the whole length of complete and consistent exclusiveness.

Yet to this and to the other arguments urged, I have never heard of any answer being offered. It would be well if those who regard their advocacy of religious tests and disabilities as a mark of their being most emphatically *christian*, and who—some of them—cast reproaches not savouring of christian meekness and charity on those who do not agree with them, as showing indifference to Christianity, and a tendency towards Judaism—it were well, I say, if these would reflect on *what grounds* it was that the chief part of the Jewish nation rejected the Messiah. Evidently, it was from their expectation of a *temporal* Messiah, who should establish a “Kingdom of this world,” supported by secular power, and secular privileges and penalties.

And they should next consider, therefore, whether those who seek by such methods to honour and to support Christ’s Kingdom, are not themselves more chargeable with a tendency to corrupt the Gospel by an introduction of *Jewish* principles.

With *intentional* depravation, however, or disregard of Christianity, I would not, myself, charge any of my brethren; even though they should fail to show the same forbearance towards me. Let each study the christian Scriptures carefully and

candidly, and act on the conviction which he derives from that guide, without pronouncing harsh judgments on those who may have arrived at a different conclusion from his. And remember, my Reverend Brethren,—if ever you are tempted to depart from this rule, by finding that your opponents disregard it,—remember Him who “when He was reviled, reviled not again,” and who “left us an example that we should follow his steps.”

As for the political aspect of the question, though a full discussion of it would be unsuitable to this occasion, I cannot forbear making a remark on one point which has been very generally overlooked. Those who contend for the principle that in a christian Country no share of legislative power should be conceded to a Jew, ought manifestly—if they would be consistent—to follow out their principle, and not to be content with throwing out the Bill I have been alluding to, but to endeavour to deprive Jews of the *elective franchise*. An elector, it is true, has a much smaller share of legislative power than a member of Parliament; but this is nothing to the purpose, when the question is one of *principle* and not of amount. It was admitted on all hands that the number of Jews likely to obtain seats in Parliament would be insignificantly small; but the indecorum, and the violation of principle, would, it was urged, (and very justly) be the very same, whether they were many or few,—of great or of small influence. Now the principle in question

is even *more* completely violated (and this is the point which has been the most generally overlooked) by the law as it now stands, than by the proposed Bill. For the *elective franchise* is *actually enjoyed* by the Jew, independently of any permission from another party; while a *seat in Parliament* is *not* conferred by the Bill. That Bill only went to enable him to take his seat *if* duly elected by the constituents. It conferred no legislative power; only enabled *them* to confer it if they thought fit. It is evident, therefore, that the principle alluded to is already much more directly violated by the existing law than it would have been by that Bill.¹

I have always however (as most of you must be well aware²) objected strongly to the anomaly of a christian *Church* being governed altogether as ours now is, by a Body which does not consist exclusively of members of that Church. And as on this subject also, my views have been long since³ very fully laid before the Public, I had no need to say more, in the Debate that lately took place on the subject, than a

¹ Another curious anomaly in the present state of the law is, that a Jew is allowed to act as a Magistrate; and that accordingly it happened very lately that a Jewish Justice of the Peace (who is also a member of Parliament, but was precluded from taking his seat) was applied to for a licence, which he granted, as he was empowered to do, for a dissenting chapel.

² See Speech on the Jewish-Relief Bill, and also on the Kildare "Petition for Church Government," in the volume of *Charges and Tracts*.

³ See Appendix, Note (D).

very few words expressing my adherence to those views.

It was a very striking, and a very interesting circumstance in that Debate to observe how very large a number of influential persons had adopted, more or less, certain views respecting the present condition, and the requirements, of our Church. I will not call them, *my* views, because I know not how far, or whether at all, they had been derived from me: but they certainly were views which I had long since advocated in the House, year after year, when I stood almost alone; when I could hardly obtain a hearing for the statement of those views; when they were supported by hardly any one,—opposed by some,—and, by most, deemed, apparently, not worth opposing. Yet on this last occasion they were earnestly and eloquently discussed by several; and by all considered worthy of very serious attention.

*Opinions on
Convocation
or other Go-
vernment of
the Church.*

As for the arguments employed on both sides, I need not detain you by recounting or commenting on them, because hardly any of much importance were brought forward except what must be already familiar to those of you who take an interest in the subject. It is one which, as you will recollect, I have repeatedly and fully discussed, both in a Charge delivered a few years since,¹ and in several other Works.

¹ See Note (D.) Appendix, and also the Speech above referred to.

It may be needful however to point your attention to the circumstance that those of the speakers who advocated, and those who opposed, the summoning of Convocation for actual business, were completely agreed in thinking that Body—as now by law constituted—utterly unfit to be a permanent government for the Church. Nor did any one advocate,—and most, I think distinctly protested against,—any government of the Church by *the Clergy, exclusively* of the Laity. But Convocation—it was urged by some—ought to be summoned for the purpose of handing over its powers to some differently-constituted Body; in the same manner as the Reform-Bill, which materially altered the constitution of Parliament, was passed, and could only have been passed, by the then-existing *unreformed* Parliament.

Whether these views be sound or not, it is no more than fair, and it is also highly important that they should at least be not misapprehended.

As for the objection which was urged, that differences of opinion, and contests, and perhaps stormy debates, would be likely to arise, in any assembly of men,—whether called Councillors, Commissioners, Delegates, or by whatever other name—met to inquire into and to decide on, important and interesting matters, and that this might be expected, equally, whether they sat as a permanent governing Body, or as a temporary Commission to be finally dissolved when it should have gone

through a certain definite task, all this was fully admitted. But it was remarked, in reply, that still greater, and more widely spread, and far more unsatisfactory contests, and more incurable discontents take place, and are sure to take place, in the *absence* of a government; when there is no recognised and legitimate channel open for suggestions, for complaints, for arguments, and statements, and proposals.

It might, indeed, have perhaps seemed antecedently probable, that peace and satisfaction, at least *within* the Church, might have been secured, though at a great sacrifice, by the withdrawal from its Communion from time to time, not only of those radically opposed to its doctrine and worship, but of many others also who might have been retained in it without any compromise of principle. Experience, however, shows that even at this cost internal peace and satisfaction are not to be purchased;—that the health and ease of the remaining portion of the body cannot be obtained even by the successive amputation of limbs.

In the Houses of Parliament, (it was urged) violent and sometimes factious contests undoubtedly occur, and instances of unwise legislation may be found. But would any one venture on these grounds to propose the discontinuance of Parliaments? Would any one say, “We are satisfied with the existing laws, and want no changes; ‘*NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIÆ MUTARI*.’ we would fain avoid all the

wanton legislation, and all the strife of words, and party-spirit which a Parliament never fails to call forth; let us dispense with it altogether?"

This experiment we know was actually tried, on grounds which doubtless appeared plausible at the time, by the unhappy Charles the First: and we all know the result.

Then, as for the apprehended predominance, in any regularly-constituted Assembly, of the misjudging, and violent and factious, it was maintained, in reply, that such men are incomparably more influential, and their numbers and power more apt to be over-rated, in the absence of any regular government. And an instance was adduced, which I believe might serve as a specimen of thousands of others, in which a factious clamour was raised in a certain parish against some proposed measure; such, that even several of those favourably disposed to the measure were almost overawed by what they had been led to believe was the voice of "The Parishioners." But when the expedient was resorted to, of *collecting the votes*, it was found that those who had been representing themselves as "The Parish" were, to those opposed to them, less than one to ten!

It was urged, again, that, very recently, some Australian Bishops had held a kind of Conference or Synod, at which certain Resolutions, on several points, had been passed, and which had called forth loud complaints from many lay-members of our

Church in those parts: and this was considered as indicating that any kind of Assembly convened by competent authority to deliberate on any ecclesiastical matters would be most distasteful to the laymembers of our Church, and would be productive of dissension.

But it seems most probable that that Meeting had been suspected,—not unnaturally—of a design (which however I am far from, myself, attributing to those Bishops) to claim for those Resolutions—what they certainly had no right to claim—some *binding* authority, as emanating from a *Body*—beyond what each bishop already possessed in his own diocese; and that such a (supposed) assumption of power was the chief thing that called forth expressions of indignation and of alarm.

If,—as was observed in the Debate—some ten or twenty Members of either House of Parliament should think proper to meet in an assembly constituted by their own authority, and to lead or leave men to believe that they regarded themselves as a legislative Body whose decisions were to be binding on all, then, however wise in themselves these decisions might be, no one can doubt that such a usurpation would excite resentment and opposition.

But if any one should infer from that resentment that the meeting of a Parliament *regularly summoned by the Sovereign* must be productive of dissension, and that the whole institution of Parliaments had better be abolished, most men would

perceive that the very opposite conclusion would be the more reasonable.

Before I dismiss this subject, I wish to call your attention to two very important,—perhaps the most important —*obstacles*, to the introduction of any remedy for the present anomalous condition of our Church: leaving to your own discretion to deal with those obstacles, on each occasion that may arise, according to the best of your discretion.

(1.) One is, the expectation, or suspicion, that any Assembly, Council, Convocation, or whatever else it might be called, that should be convened for the regulation of the affairs of our Church, might claim for itself *inspiration*, and consequent infallibility.

We know that Councils *have* before now, advanced such a claim;¹ and have rashly—not to say profanely—applied to themselves the words (of which moreover they manifestly mistook the real meaning) of the decree of that early Council held at Jerusalem, “It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.”²

And the slightest hint,—or even the absence of a disavowal—of any such claim, would be sufficient

¹ I know that on a late occasion that claim, on behalf of a Convocation, was understood to be maintained by a speaker who, I verily believe, had not really any such intention.

² In the case of *Cornelius and his Household* (to which Peter had just been directing their attention) the Holy Spirit had given

to excite such alarm and disgust as would raise up an effectual barrier against the summoning of any such Council.

(2.) The other obstacle to which I would advert is, the notion of the Universal [Catholic] Church being *one Community on Earth*, to which all Christians are bound to pay submission; its governors, and their enactments, claiming obedience from all Christ's followers.

If there *be* any such one Community on Earth, it is manifest that no branch of it,—no individual members of it, whether few or many—can have any right, *without its express permission*, to assemble for the purpose of deciding—or even deliberating on—either Articles of faith, or regulations as to Church-discipline and public Worship, or anything whatever that at all concerns any portion of the Church of Christ.

And how can we obtain, or even apply for, any such permission? since we do not acknowledge any Vicegerent on earth of Him whom we believe to be the sole Head of the Catholic Church.

Any meeting of persons who are subjects of the British Empire, in any city or county of it, called together without the sanction of the Imperial Legis-

a plain decision that *those individuals* might be admitted into the christian Church without conforming to the Law of Moses (see Acts, x. 47). And the Council, by an obvious inference from that case, decided that the same rule would apply to *all* Gentile converts.

lature, who should pretend to enact laws binding on the inhabitants of that district, would be justly regarded as no better than rebels, however good in themselves their enactments might be. The bye-laws of any Corporation must be made with the permission of the central Government; else there would be a most mischievous and dangerous *imperium in imperio*; in fact, a complete revolt from the Authority we are bound to obey.

And if some self-constituted Assembly in this Country should profess to be "*called together in the name of the Sovereign*," the use of this language by persons who could not *produce a royal licence* duly signed, would be considered as rather aggravating their offence.

As long, therefore, and as far as this notion shall exist in men's minds of a Universal Church as *one Community on Earth*, possessing—as every such Community must—a supreme *central Government* on Earth, to which all Christians owe submission, so long, and so far, our own Anglican Church (which expressly disclaims being itself that Church)¹ must have an insuperable obstacle placed in the way of any Government for itself.

And it should be remembered also that this notion strikes at the root of all *past* as well as

¹ "And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own People only; for we think it convenient that every Country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best, &c."—*Preface to Prayer-book*. See also Art. 34.

future Government of our own or of any other Church. It leads inevitably to the conclusion that all decisions, regulations, ordinances, and enactments of whatever kind, by any Church that can be named, must be utterly null and void from the beginning; and that all Convocations, Synods, or Assemblies, of whatever kind, summoned for the purpose of making any such enactments, must have been chargeable with Schism, as having acted without distinct permission from the supreme central Authority.

And hence it is, partly, that the notion I have been alluding to has so often led men to join the Church of Rome; which does at least claim (though on no sufficient grounds) what our Church distinctly *disclaims*, — to *be* that supreme central Authority.

Before I conclude, I wish to call your attention to the efforts recently made in behalf of the truly venerable “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,” the Jubilee of which, at the close of its hundred and fiftieth year, was honoured with the presence and advocacy of an exalted Personage, distinguished not more by his high station than by his energetic and well-directed zeal in the cause of every institution and every undertaking calculated to benefit his adopted Country, and the whole human Race.

*Claims of
the Gospel-
propagation-
Society.*

This Society, to which we owe the very existence of a Sister-Church in America, and the extension of our religious system to almost every part of the World in which our language is spoken, I could not more effectually advocate, even if my limits would permit, than by referring you to the little Tracts circulated by it, containing the speeches delivered before the diocesan Branch of it, in Dublin, by the present Bishop of Norwich. And these I earnestly recommend to your attention.

I also recommend, that, according to the suggestion of the Parent-Society, you should urge its claims on the attention of your People, by sermons, or otherwise, as may be judged most suitable for each locality.

APPENDIX.

(A), page 3.

AMONG the things excluded from the Christian system, we are fully authorized to include all subjection of the Christian World, permanently, and from generation to generation, to some one Spiritual-Ruler (whether an individual man or a Church) the delegate, representative and vicegerent of Christ; whose authority should be binding on the conscience of all, and decisive on every point of faith. Jesus Himself, who told his Disciples that it was "expedient for them that He should go away, that He might send them another Comforter, who should abide with them for ever," could not possibly have failed, had such been his design, to refer them to the man, or Body of men, who should, in perpetual succession, be the depositary of this divine consolation and supremacy. And it is wholly incredible that He Himself should be perpetually spoken of and alluded to as the Head of His Church, without any reference to any Supreme Head on Earth, as fully representing Him, and bearing universal rule in his name,—whether Peter or any other Apostle, or any successor of one of these,—this, I say, is utterly incredible, supposing the Apostles or their Master had really designed that there should be for the universal Church any institution answering to the oracle of God under the Old Dispensation, at the Tabernacle or the Temple.

The Apostle Paul, in speaking of miracles as "the signs of an Apostle," evidently implies that no one NOT possessing such miraculous gifts as his, much less without possessing any at all,—could be entitled to be regarded as even on a level with the Apostles; yet he does not, by virtue of that his high office, claim for himself, or allow to Peter or any other, supreme rule over all the Churches. And while he claims and exercises the right to decide authoritatively on points of faith and of practice on which he had received express revelations, he does not leave his converts any injunction to apply hereafter, when he shall be removed from them, to the Bishop or Rulers of any other Church, for such decisions; or to any kind of permanent living Oracle to dictate to all Christians in all Ages. Nor does he even ever hint at any subjection of one Church to another, singly, or to any number of

others collectively ;—to that of Jerusalem, for instance, or of Rome ; or to any kind of general Council.

It appears plainly from the sacred narrative, that though the many Churches which the Apostles founded were branches of one *Spiritual* Brotherhood, of which the Lord Jesus Christ is the Heavenly Head,—though there was “one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism,” for all of them, yet they were each a distinct, independent community *on Earth*, united by the common principles on which they were founded, and by their mutual agreement, affection, and respect ; but not having any one recognised Head on Earth, or acknowledging any sovereignty of one of these Societies over others.—*Essay II. on Kingdom of Christ*, § 15.

While questions are eagerly discussed as to the degree of deference due to the “decisions of the universal Church,” some preliminary questions are often overlooked : such as,—when, and where did any one visible Community, comprising all Christians as its members, exist? Does it exist still? Is its authority the same as formerly? or when, and how, was its authority suppressed, or curtailed? And, again, who are its rulers and other officers, rightfully claiming to represent Him who is the acknowledged Head of the Universal (or Catholic) Church, Jesus Christ, and to act as his *Vicegerents* on Earth? For it is plain that no society that has a *supreme Governor*, can perform any act, *as a Society*, and in its corporate capacity, *without* that supreme Governor, either in person, or represented by some one clearly deputed by him, and invested with his authority. And a Bishop, Presbyterian, or other officer, of any particular Church, although he is a *member* of the Universal Christian-Church, and also a *christian Ecclesiastical Ruler*, is not a Ruler *of* the Universal Church ; his jurisdiction not extending beyond his particular Diocese, Province, or Church : any more than a *European King* is King *of* Europe. Who then are to be recognised as Rulers *of* (not merely *in*) the Universal Church? Where (on Earth) is its central supreme government, such as every single Community must have? Who is the accredited organ empowered to pronounce its decrees, in the name of the whole Community? And where are these decrees registered?

Yet many persons are accustomed to talk familiarly of the decisions of the Catholic Church, as if there were some accessible record of them, such as we have of the Acts of any Legislative Body ; and “as if there existed some recognised functionaries, regularly authorized to govern and to represent that community,

the Church of Christ; and answering to the king—senate—or other constituted authorities, in any secular community. And yet no shadow of proof can be offered that the Church, in the above sense,—the Universal Church,—can possibly give any decision at all;—that it has any constituted Authorities as the organs by which such decision could be framed or promulgated;—or, in short, that there is, or ever was, any *one community on earth*, recognised, or having any claim to be recognised, as the Universal Church, bearing rule over and comprehending all particular Churches.”—*Essay II. on Kingdom of Christ*, § 22.

(B), No. 1, page 11.

From the Irish Prelates to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

WE, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, have seen in the public prints a document entitled “An humble Address of the Archbishops and Bishops of *the Church of England*,” and commencing with the following words:—“May it please your Majesty, we the Archbishops and undersigned Bishops of *the Church of England*, approach your Majesty,” &c. It is with much regret, and not without apprehension, that we have observed the title by which your Grace and the Archbishop of York, together with the suffragan bishops of the two provinces under your jurisdiction, have designated yourselves in addressing our Sovereign—a title which, we beg permission to say, is unknown to the law of the land, and which imports a virtual denial of the fifth article of Union between England and Ireland. Your Grace is aware that, by the statute 39 and 40 George III., c. 67, it is enacted, “that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called *the United Church of England and Ireland*.” The title-page of our Book of Common Prayer, and the form of ordaining priests, bear their solemn testimony to the incorporation of the two Churches into one, and to the designation by which that one Church is to be known.

We have painfully felt that of late years, as well in legislating on ecclesiastical affairs, as on many public occasions, a disposition has been manifested to regard the Irish provinces of the United Church as if they did not form an integral portion of the one Church of the nation. We are conscious that the Irish branch

of the Church is peculiarly exposed to the attacks of its enemies; and we are on that account the more apprehensive of any step being taken which has a tendency, even in appearance, to dissociate our provinces and bishoprics from that great community with which it is our happiness, and, we hope, our safety, to be identified. We, therefore, not unnaturally, fear the effect which may be produced by a movement on the part of our English brethren against a common adversary, in which they have not only acted without any concert or communication with us, but have styled themselves by a name which would seem to intimate that they are prelates of a separate Church from ours, and wish to appear so before her Majesty.

We beg to assure your Grace that in submitting this statement to your consideration, we are not actuated by any wounded feeling of disappointment or dissatisfaction. But we deem that we owe it to the Church in which we bear office, to guard, as far as in our power, against a separation being made between the component parts of the National Church, which were most solemnly and authoritatively united together into one. We confidently hope that the form of designation employed in your address was adopted inadvertently, and not from a design to disclaim a connexion with the provinces of Armagh and Dublin. And we trust we may reckon on having the aid, the sympathy, and the prayers of the Archbishops and Bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in whatever difficulties and dangers may yet await our portion of the Church.

We would respectfully request your Grace to communicate this expression of our sentiments to the several prelates who signed the address to her Majesty.

JOHN G. ARMAGH.

RD. DUBLIN.

THOMAS S. MEATH.

J. KILMORE, ELPHIN, and ARDAGH.

R. DERRY and RAPHOE.

LUDLOW KILLALOE and CLONFERT.

THOMAS TUAM, &c.

J. T. OSSORY and FERNS.

ROBERT CASHEL, &c.

JAMES CORK and CLOYNE.

ROBERT DOWN and CONNOR.

WM. LIMERICK, ARDFERT, and AGHADOE.

Answer.

Addington, Croydon, December 31, 1850.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a letter signed by your Grace, by the Archbishop of Dublin, and all the Irish Bishops, referring to the recent address of the English bench to her Majesty, in which they were styled “the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.”

I am anxious to assure your Grace, and my other right reverend brethren in Ireland, that this designation did not originate in any desire to represent ourselves as a separate body, but was employed solely because, in the present instance, “the movement of the common adversary” was immediately directed against ourselves.

It did not appear to any of the Bishops, whom I had the opportunity of consulting, that we could properly invite the Irish Bishops to complain of an aggression which only affected the Church in England. At the same time, I am ready, for my own part, to acknowledge that the document would have been more correctly worded, if it had been written in the name of the English Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland. It would have been better to have indicted an inharmonious sentence, than to have given ground for the apprehensions expressed in your Grace’s letter.

I will take an early opportunity of communicating the letter to my episcopal brethren, who, at present, are dispersed in their various dioceses. But I can venture to say, in their behalf, that we all consider the Irish branch of the United Church to be so closely identified with our own, that if one member suffers, the other cannot fail to suffer with it; and that in all cases where co-operation is desirable or practicable, we shall be ready to act with your Grace, and the other Irish Prelates, as an united body.

I remain, my Lord Archbishop,

Your Grace’s faithful servant,

J. B. CANTUAR.

His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh.

From the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to the Queen.

WE, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Irish provinces and bishoprics of the United Church of England and Ireland,

approach your Majesty at this time with the humble tender of our duty, and the expression of our heartfelt participation in those sentiments of devoted loyalty to the Crown, and of unshaken attachment to the principles of the Reformation, which the recent proceedings of the Bishop of Rome have drawn forth so generally from your Majesty's subjects in England.

The same laws of the realm which have made one United *Kingdom* of Great Britain and Ireland, have no less established one United *Church* of England and Ireland: and the Irish branch of that United Church, as it has always been faithful in the maintenance of the union of the kingdom, so has it ever been, and now is, no less earnest than the English branch, in denying the pretensions of any "foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate," to any rightful "jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

The recent exercise of such a pretended right by the Bishop of Rome, in constituting a territorial hierarchy in England, subject to his supreme jurisdiction, is, happily, in that form, as yet a novelty in Great Britain; but, unhappily, it is not the first exercise of such pretensions within the bounds of the United Kingdom. For in Ireland, where the prerogative of the Crown is by law one and the same as in England, the Bishops of Rome have long ago pursued a course not dissimilar to that now attempted in England.

At the period of the Reformation, nearly all the Irish bishops renounced the papal authority; and of these the Prelates of the Established Church are indisputably the regular successors. It was not until after the lapse of several years that a new and rival episcopate was gradually introduced by the Popes, which has become politically formidable to the stability of the United Church in this country, besides obstructing its efforts to make known the Word of God, and promote peace, unity, and concord among your Majesty's subjects.

We have thought it necessary to advert to these well-known facts relating to Ireland, because they seem to have been almost, if not altogether, lost sight of in the indignation which has been excited by the recent attempt of the Pope to exert the like power in England. Uneasy apprehensions have been awakened within us by observing that in the addresses, and resolutions, and

speeches, which that bold procedure has called forth in England, all the concern manifested has been for the distinct and special defence of what has been called—by a title unknown to the law—"The Church of England."

We are convinced, indeed, that the silence which has been maintained in reference to the case of the Irish branch of the Church, is in most instances to be regarded as merely the result of the peculiar solicitude which men naturally feel for the part immediately assailed, and which for the time banishes from their mind all interest in, or recollection of, every other part; and we are persuaded that it would be wrong to understand it as conveying any wish to divide the United Church, or any opinion that, being united as it is, the interests of its component parts may be so dissevered, that while both are exposed to the same hostile power, each may be content to defend itself; and still less, that the stronger may provide for its own safety by sacrificing its weaker associate.

We trust that a great majority of those who have allowed themselves for a time to forget our case, in their anxiety about their own, must be aware that any permanent disregard of it would be a grievous error in point of prudence as well as of principle. But knowing that different views with reference to the ecclesiastical establishment in the two countries are entertained by not a few in England, and that some such ill-considered compromise as we have glanced at, is actually contemplated by them, we cannot but feel alarm at whatever may tend to give effect to so short-sighted and fatal a scheme.

We are deeply impressed with the conviction, that if the excitement now existing in England were to lead to the adoption of any measure calculated to impair the integrity of the United Church, or the completeness of the union between the two portions of it, such a proceeding would involve more real injury to the whole Church and to the country than any acts of the Bishop of Rome, or any encroachment from without could possibly effect.

The Irish branch might, and probably would, be the first sufferer from such false policy; but the English branch would ultimately be no less surely its victim. And how deadly a wound its fall would inflict upon all that constitutes the happiness and greatness of that favoured country, we trust it may not be doomed to know by unhappy experience.

We confide, under God's good providence, in your Majesty's wisdom, guided and supported by both houses of Parliament, to avert all such evils, by maintaining the union which happily exists between the countries, and between the branches of the Church in both.

How the aggressive proceedings of the Bishop of Rome ought to be guarded against and counteracted, we do not presume to suggest. But we are anxious distinctly to state, that we have no desire that they should be met by any restraint affecting the just rights of conscience of any of your Majesty's subjects.

It is our humble prayer, that whatever may be the defensive measures determined on for securing the National Church against injury, the two portions of it may not be regarded or treated as having separate interests, but that one and the same legislative protection may be extended to both branches of the Church in common.

[Signed by all the Prelates.]

(B), No. 2.

Testimonies to show that there is no unbroken line of Roman-Catholic Prelates in Ireland since the Reformation.

IN the discussions which have lately taken place, both in and out of Parliament, upon the subject of the Papal aggression, many unfounded statements have been put forth respecting the lincal succession of the prelates of the Established Church, and of the Roman-Catholic body in Ireland; and it has been attempted to build an argument upon those statements for permitting the Roman-Catholic bishops to assume territorial titles here as a matter of right, upon the supposition of an unbroken succession of bishops of their church.

Therefore it may not be out of place to say a word or two upon that question:—First, in order to show that the prelates of our Church are not intruders (as asserted), but are the legitimate successors of the Irish bishops anterior to the Reformation; and, secondly, to prove, *from writers of their own communion*, that the present Roman-Catholic bishops merely represent persons who were illegally intruded by the Pope into sees already filled. Indeed, many years had elapsed before such an attempt was made in several of the dioceses; in others, the Pope placed, not bishops

but *vicars apostolic*; so that the supposed fact of a full and uninterrupted succession of *bishops in ordinary* falls to the ground, and carries with it that conclusion which it was intended to raise and substantiate.

First. At the time when the Irish Act of Uniformity was passed (January, 1559-60), there were twenty-nine archbishops and bishops in Ireland. [The Primate Dowdall had died three months before Queen Elizabeth's accession.]

It is notorious, that *only two* out of that number were deprived for refusing to take the oath of the Queen's supremacy, as set forth in that act; namely, Walsh, bishop of Meath, and Leverous, bishop of Kildare. *All the others retained their bishoprics*; therefore we may presume that they did not scruple to satisfy the Queen in the matter of the oath. Thus, for instance, Hugh Curwin retained the archbishopric of Dublin, and consecrated Archbishop Loftus, Lancaster, and others; and even Hugh Lacy, bishop of Limerick, whom Queen Mary had appointed in place of William Casey, whom she had deprived in 1557, was allowed to retain his see for eleven years; although Casey, whom he had supplanted, was living, and in fact was afterwards replaced in his old see, when Lacy resigned it, in 1571.

More might be added; but perhaps these two examples may be sufficient upon this head.

Secondly. Let us hear what *Roman-Catholic authors* have admitted respecting the broken condition of their hierarchy after the Reformation, and the methods adopted from time to time by the Popes for replacing it from foreign sources.

I. D'Alton, in his *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, (8vo, 1838,) writes thus:—

“A.D. 1599.—After Hugh Curwin had abandoned the Roman-Catholic faith, the assertion of Queen Elizabeth's supremacy, and the imprisonments, &c., *prevented the appointment of a prelate for upwards of forty years*. At length, Philip II. of Spain sent over a troop of Spaniards to assist James Fitzmaurice in his rebellion, and with them he sent Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish friar; but the enterprise failed, and the friar returned home. But in 1600 he was again invited over, and was appointed Archbishop of Dublin by the Pope.” D'Alton justly styles him ‘an emissary and agent of Philip II.’ In 1601 he was driven out of the country, and died in obscurity in Spain.

“In 1611, after a *lapse of ten years*, Eugene Matthews was ap

pointed by the Pope. He fled from Ireland about 1617, and died in the Netherlands in 1623.

"In 1623, Thomas Fleming was sent over by the Pope. He died about 1653.

"1660. At the close of the year 1660 *there were but three prelates* of the Roman-Catholic faith in Ireland, those of Armagh, Meath, and Kilmore; while this see (Dublin) was under the jurisdiction and control of James Dempsey, *Vicar Apostolic* and Capitulary of Kildare."

Mr. D'Alton is a very laborious and inquiring writer, and his statements of these matters need not be disputed. But he does not stand alone; he is abundantly supported by other historians of the same creed, who lived much nearer to the events in question, and who would not be likely either to omit or understate any circumstance seemingly favourable to the credit or power of their Church.

II. Thus, Philip O'Sullivan, in his *Historiæ Catholicæ Compendium*, (4to, Ulyssipone, 1621,) admits, that in 1579, Patrick O'Hely was consecrated Bishop of Mayo, by Pope Gregory XIII., and sent over to Ireland, *to oppose the English heresy*. He states that in his time (about 1620), very few Irish bishops were appointed, because they could not live in honour and dignity without ecclesiastical revenues; wherefore the four archbishops, appointed by the Pope, nominated *vicars-general, by papal authority*, to their suffragan sees. Eugene Mac Mahon, Archbishop of Dublin, and David O'Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, remained in Ireland; but Peter Lombard, of Armagh, and Florence O'Melconry, of Tuam, delegated their provinces to vicars.—(p. 229.)

III. Peter Lombard, in his work, *De Regno Hiberniæ*, (4to, 1624,) gives this, among other urgent reasons, why the Pope, and the King of Spain, and other Roman-Catholic princes, ought to assist Ireland in her rebellious attempts; viz., that *most, indeed all*, the metropolises and dioceses were deprived of the consolation of their pastors.—(p. 464.)

He speaks of the dioceses of Ireland, as *passim vacantes*.—(p. 490.)

He owns that, in 1600, Dermot, Bishop of Cork, was the *only* Roman-Catholic bishop of the province of Muster, *then alive*.—(p. 431.)

IV. Father Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, (called by C. O'Connor "the most learned man of that learned order,") in his

extremely valuable work, *The History of the Loyal Irish Remonstrance*, (fol. 1673,) gives a vast deal of curious and important information about the broken state of the hierarchy, from about 1640 to 1672; and furnishes evidence that several of the dioceses were under the government of *vicars apostolic*. At p. 4 he states that the titular Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Meath, and the old bed-ridden Bishop of Kilmore, (Owen M'Swiney, of whom see some account in *Burnett's Life of Bishop Bedell*,) were the *only three bishops in Ireland*. James Dempsey was *Vicar Apostolic* of Dublin, and Capitulary of Kildare. Limerick was under custodiam. The other bishops were in foreign parts.

Page 573, &c. The sees of Clonfert, Elphin, Killaloe, and Kilmacduagh, (all of the province of Tuam,) were *vacant*, and under vicars-general. Only three bishops were then alive in Ireland, viz., of Kilmore, Ardagh, and Tuam.

All the dioceses of Dublin province, except Ferns, were vacant in November, 1665.

All the sees of Cashel province were *vacant*, *their bishops being dead*; except Kilfenora, the bishop of which was in France. And the only bishops then surviving, and residing in foreign parts, were Edmond O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh; Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns; and Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora; three at home, and three abroad.

In 1666, Dublin, Cashel, and Killaloe, were under *vicars apostolic*.

Between 1669 and 1672, thirteen or fourteen new bishops, including four archbishops, were created *at Rome, by the Pope*.

V. Francis Porter, in his *Compendium Annalium Ecclesiast. Regni Hiberniæ*, (4to, Romæ, 1690,) mentions, that the Nuncio at Paris was very anxious that the succession should be kept up; and therefore he procured the appointment of P. Talbot to Dublin; Oliver Plunket to Armagh; John Bourgoath to Cashel; and James Lynch to Tuam; with others.

He informs us (p. 343), that the whole province of Ulster, except one or two dioceses, was *without bishops for nine-and-twenty years*; and states that, in his own time, several sees were vacant, and that there were *certain people* who used all their efforts to keep them so.

VI. Anthony Bruodin, another friar, in his book, called "*Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis*," (4to, Præge, 1669,) a most

abusive and mendacious work, speaks of Matthew Roche as having been, in 1644, for thirty-five years *Vicar Apostolic of Leighlin*.

VII. Thomas De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, (4to, Kilkenny, 1763-73,) tells us—

Page 869, that “Bishop Thonory, of Ossory, died in 1565, and the bishopric was not filled up till 1582, when the Pope appointed Thomas Strong. He resided in Spain, and died there in 1601. His place was not filled up till 1618, when David Roth was appointed.”

Page 817.—“Eugene Matthews was made Archbishop of Dublin, on May 2nd, 1611. Before him was Matthew de Oviedo, who had been appointed on May 5th, 1600. Before him the see of Dublin was without a pastor for thirty-three years.”

Thus we see that Bourke admits Hugh Curwin (who resigned in 1567) to have been its lawful bishop, although he had conformed to the Reformed faith.

“In 1646, Ross, and also Tuam, were under *Vicars Apostolic*.

“1667, Nicholas French presented a petition to the Pope, which contained the names of the Roman-Catholic bishops who had died since 1649. The list comprises—

Nine bishops, who had died in Ireland.

Three, who had been executed.

Ten, who had died in exile in foreign parts; and

Four, who were then alive.”

VIII. In the *Catholic Directory*, annually published in Dublin, we have, in the volume for the year 1837, lists of the successive bishops of each diocese of Ireland. How far the compilers were able to make out a full and unbroken succession, the following specimens may show:—

“WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

Nicholas Cummin resigned in 1551.

Patrick Comerford was Bishop in 1646, &c.

CLONFERT.

Roland de Burgo was elected in 1534.

Thaddeus O’Ferral was Bishop in 1602, &c.

ACHONRY.

Cormac was Bishop in 1523.

Eugene (at the Council of Trent) died 1623.

Dr. Durcan was *Vicar Apostolic*.

Dominic O’Daly was consecrated in 1726, &c.

KILFENORA.

John O'Hinalan, 1552.

Andrew Lynch was Bishop in 1649, &c.

KILMACDUAGH.

Christopher Bodkin translated to Tuam, 1536.

Hugh Burke 1609, &c.

CORK AND CLOYNE.

John Hovedon, appointed 1542.

Edmond Tanner, Bishop in 1580.

William Therry, Bishop in 1620.

ARDFERT.

James Fitzmaurice, Bishop in 1556.

Richard Connell, in 1648.

DUBLIN.

No Archbishop from 1559 till 5th May, 1600.

Matthew de Oviedo, 1600, &c., &c."

There is little doubt that those wide gaps would gladly have been filled up, if satisfactory materials for doing so were at hand. And when to all the foregoing evidence we add the recent admission of Archbishop MacHale, in his sermon preached before the Synod of Thurles, that there was a "disastrous time when *only two bishops could be found in the land*;" it is hoped, from a spirit of fairness, that the loose assertions ignorantly hazarded respecting the hierarchy of the Church of Ireland may henceforth be discontinued; and that we may hear no more of an uninterrupted line and perpetual succession of *Roman-Catholic* bishops from the time of St. Patrick to this day, when the contrary is undeniably and notoriously the truth.

HENRY COTTON.

(C), page 19.

I HAVE thought it advisable to reprint in this place an extract from a work published some time ago:—

The Bill I have been alluding to is apparently regarded by many as a Bill to admit Jews into Parliament; because, incidentally, such is likely to be, in one or two instances, the result; and the question, accordingly, which presents itself to the mind of many persons is, whether a Jew is or is not the fittest person, —or a fit person,—to have a seat in the Legislature. But in

reality the question is, not this, but a very different one; namely, whether the ELECTORS shall be left to their own unrestricted choice, or whether it is right and necessary to tie them up by legislative enactments. Now if each man were to hold himself bound in conscience to endeavour to compel all others to act, in every case, in the way in which *he* would himself think it right to act, and to restrain them by law from the exercise of any of their rights in a way which to *him* might seem objectionable, the result would evidently be a most intolerable tyranny exercised by the majority over the minority. There would be an end of all liberty, if men were to be deprived of all rights and all power which they may possibly make an ill use of, or such a use as their rulers might think not to be the best. That *paternal* government, as it is called, which in ruder ages well-meaning men have often attempted to introduce,—a government which prescribes to the subjects, as a parent to his children, their diet, their dress, their expenditure, their studies, and their whole mode of life,—such a government is evidently quite incompatible with rational liberty, and unsuited to the character of man considered as a rational agent. In a free country, though restrictions must indeed be imposed when the public welfare requires it, they should be strictly reserved for such cases. The *general* rule must be, that each man should be left to act according to his own discretion; and the exceptions to this rule should rest on the ground of some manifest and important public advantage sufficient to counterbalance the evil of a restriction.

Accordingly those who in any case oppose the limitation of their neighbour's rights, are not to be therefore considered as necessarily approving of the mode in which he may think fit to exercise those rights. Any one, for example, who may have voted for the removal of civil disabilities from Roman-Catholics and Dissenters, might, with perfect consistency, give the preference, as an elector, to a candidate who was a member of our Church. And in like manner a man would be guilty of no inconsistency who should, as a legislator, vote for the alteration of the law as it now stands, even though he should himself, as an elector, prefer to vote for one whom he believed to be a sincere Christian. For the question is, as I have said, not whether one not professing Christianity is well qualified for a seat in Parliament, but whether the electors should be left to decide for themselves in

each case, or should have the decision made for them :—whether, in short, there is or is not any such danger to the State, or to any of our institutions, in leaving them their choice, as to warrant our interference with the freedom of election.

And here it may be needful to observe by the way, that I do not attach much weight to the argument of those who urge that, as it is, we have no security against *insincere* professions of Christianity, and that probably several members of Parliament are in reality not more Christians than those who decline making the declaration now required. The argument was, I think, sufficiently answered in the late debate, by those who replied that the Legislature has at least not *sanctioned* the admission of such persons; that, having required a *profession* of Christianity, it has done all that it *can* do; and that we are not responsible for any unavoidable evasion of our regulations. This reply appears to me conclusive. And indeed (to take the case of bribery by way of illustration) all persons, I apprehend, would admit that it would ill become the House of Commons to allow a man to retain his seat who was *convicted* of bribery; although we must always expect that there will be cases of persons obtaining a seat by such means, and escaping detection. In like manner, if it be our duty to exclude, as far as in us lies, all persons from Parliament, or from any other situation, who do not assent to such and such doctrines, we are bound to exact a *profession*, which is all we can exact; and if any evasion of our enactments take place, we may plead that, at least, they have not our sanction.

But then it is to be remembered, on the other hand, that the Legislature does sanction the election of Roman-Catholics, and of Dissenters of all descriptions, to sit in Parliament. The words, “on the true faith of a Christian,” are not followed by “of the Church of England;” and if, therefore, it be contended that the omission of the former words must imply *indifference to Christianity*, it must be admitted that the omission of any further profession implies indifference as to *all Churches and sects* of professing Christians; including Romanists and Protestants, Mormonites and German Transcendentalists, &c., so long as a man does but style himself a Christian. It must imply what no sincere Christian of *any* denomination would admit, that all differences among those who bear the christian name are utterly insignificant.

It is quite irrelevant to urge, as some do, that the difference is *greater* between a Jew or Mussulman and a professed Christian, than between Christians of different denominations. The question is not one of *degrees*. Either the removal of a religious test implies indifference, or it does not. If it does not,—which is the principle on which all those who supported the Bill (professedly at least) proceeded,—then there is an end of the argument against that Bill. If it does, then it follows inevitably that the removal of every other religious test implies indifference as to all forms of nominal Christianity.

Evidently, therefore, unless we are prepared to acknowledge this indifference, we are at present in a false position. We are bound, in all consistency, either to go one step farther, or else to retrace our former steps.

As for those who do seriously recommend this latter course,—who are for recalling Test-Acts, and Roman-Catholic disabilities, and penal laws,—although their idea of the character of Christ's religion is one which appears to me an utterly erroneous one, they are at least not chargeable with that gross inconsistency I have just been alluding to. Their principle, which I cannot but think altogether wrong, is at least fairly followed out.

Some persons of this class are accustomed to resort to bitter vituperation of such as differ from them in opinion; denouncing them as infidels, irreligious, &c. Such "railing accusations" of course add no strength, and bring no credit, to any cause. They are to be deprecated and dreaded only on account of the scandal they occasion to the name of Christianity. But some again there are who sincerely lament this resort to fierce and violent invective in place of argument, but who hold themselves bound, in religious duty, to advocate such a system as I have been deprecating. To such persons I would suggest this consideration. There once was a man so circumstanced as to have it completely in his power to oblige all governments,—and this without need of resorting to actual violence,—to exclude from civil rights all who would not profess Christianity; nay, to oblige all men to make this profession: yet who deliberately chose to leave Christianity to be propagated among those who would *voluntarily* embrace it through the agency of persuasive means alone; though he foresaw that these means would not be universally effectual. Now was this person, or was he not, a traitor to the cause of true

religion? The greater part of the Jewish nation decided that he was; and they put him to death accordingly, for disappointing the expectations they had formed of his being about to establish a kingdom of this world.

Surely those are in reality treading in the steps of the unbelieving Jews, however vehemently they may declaim against them, who insist on fortifying the religion of Jesus with secular penalties or civil disabilities, and on establishing a legal monopoly of secular rights and privileges in behalf of Christians generally as such, or of the members of some particular Church.

No one of common sense, who reads the New Testament history with any degree of attention and of candour, can doubt that the Apostles were accused before the Romans, and were suspected by them, of designs to set up "another king, one Jesus," whose empire would interfere with the existing political institutions; in short, of an intention, as soon as their disciples should have obtained sufficient numerical strength, to compel all men, on pain of exclusion from political rights, to embrace the Gospel. Nor can any one, I conceive, have the least doubt that to these charges they pleaded "not guilty;"—that they strenuously disavowed all designs of either using secular coercion, or of monopolizing for Christians, as such, civil power and privileges, either immediately or at any future period. They must have been so *understood*; they must have *known* that they were so understood, and they must have *intended* to convey that meaning. Now, were they, in these professions and disavowals, sincere, or insincere? If they were insincere,—if they expressed themselves, to serve a present purpose, in a language which was intended to be understood in one sense by their heathen accusers at the time, and in a totally different sense by their followers in after-ages,—they cannot have been real messengers of the God of Truth. If they were sincere, and if we believe in them as God's messengers, we are bound to conform to their precepts and their example, even though by so doing we should incur the reproach of infidelity from those who "know not what manner of spirit they are of."

The question now before us, therefore, involves the whole question of the truth or falsity of the Christian religion.

These considerations are overlooked by many well-meaning persons, who allow their minds to be occupied with other ques-

tions, in reality quite distinct (as I observed above) from that really at issue. And much ingenuity and eloquence have been expended in the discussion of various points,—such as the present state of the Jewish creed and worship, &c., which are quite irrelevant to the real question to be decided. But anything that can be called an answer to the above argument has never, as far as I know, been even attempted.

As for the particular measure alluded to, no one, I believe, feels, now, any anxiety respecting that. That a Bill substantially the same with that which lately passed the House of Commons, will, before long, pass both Houses, no one of any parliamentary experience, whom I have met with, seems to feel any doubt. But my anxiety is, that the final decision of the Legislature should not appear to be a triumph *over* Christianity, but a triumph *of* Christianity, a result of the better understanding of the genuine principles of the gospel;—that it should be recognised not as an anti-Christian revolt, but as a more complete submission to the kingdom which is “not of this world.” And I have thought it right to digress somewhat from the more immediate subject of this note, in order to elucidate as clearly as possible the principles by which I have been guided in the present question. Those principles have indeed no pretensions to novelty, being, I trust, as ancient as the gospel itself, and having been applied by me to the present case about fourteen years ago, and in several publications subsequent to that time; during which interval, nothing (as far as I know) even pretending to be a refutation, has been put forward. But the grounds on which my decision has been formed being quite different from those taken by a large proportion of the advocates on *both* sides, I am anxious to avoid, as far as lies in me, any misapprehension of the principles I feel bound to maintain.

(D), page 22.

I SUBJOIN some extracts from a publication—*The Charge of 1844*—which is now, I believe, nearly out of print:—

“If we could suppose it possible for the Church, or for *any* Community of whatever kind, to subsist in a safe and prosperous condition without a Government, then, the manifest disadvantages of one kind or another which must attend every possible or con-

ceivable form of government administered by fallible mortals, would justify us in declining to try an unnecessary and hazardous experiment.

But I have spoken of "government," generally, and of "a Community," generally, because I wish to call attention to a consideration which seems to me decisive of the whole question. Let any one consider whether he has ever heard any reasons (I certainly never have) against a Church-government, which would not equally apply to civil-government also;—whether the objections urged—many of which I confess to be valid and strong objections—against a Church-synod, would not equally lie against a Parliament. No one surely will deny that party-spirit, sometimes violent and factious, does exist among political legislators;—that many of them, and also of the Electors, are subject to bias from private interests, ambition, and other feelings;—that the ill-informed or the prejudiced will sometimes obtain a mischievous influence; and that occasional injudicious legislation is the result.

For the prevention or mitigation of such evils, various schemes—many of them unwise or visionary, have from time to time been suggested. But a man would be reckoned, not injudicious or visionary, but absolutely insane, who should seriously propose to avoid such evils by a total discontinuance of Parliaments;—by dispensing with all legislative-government for ever; or again by merely *suspending* the functions of government, and *deferring* the summoning of Parliament till party-spirit should have become extinct, and till all men should have become duly qualified by perfect purity of mind and dispassionate sobriety of judgment for exercising aright the duties of Electors and of Legislators.¹

No one, I say, would be considered (if believed to be speaking seriously) as of sound mind, who should, in political concerns, rest on such arguments as are, in ecclesiastical, satisfactory to many minds. In the State, that anarchy would be regarded,

¹ Such an experiment, though, as I have said, it is what no one would, in the nineteenth century, seriously propose trying, is not unlike what actually was tried in the reign of Charles I. Doubtless a dread of what would be considered by him a factious and insubordinate spirit in a House of Commons, and of demands such as he would deem unreasonable, was among the reasons which induced that unhappy prince to endeavour to govern without a Parliament, or at least to defer as long as possible the summoning of one. And we all know what were the consequences.

even in prospect, with horror, which, in the Church, when actually existing, many are willing to submit to, rather than attempt the remedy.

In truth, in almost all human transactions, we can seldom hope for anything better than a choice of difficulties and disadvantages. And no one would be fit to live in the world a single day, who would accept no benefit, and take no step, unless under a perfect certainty of unalloyed good, without the drawback of any risk, or of any call for vigilant care, and exertion. No rational decision therefore can be formed from a mere contemplation of the difficulties and objections on one side, without taking into account the alternative. For in that way a case may be made out against every institution or course of conduct or measure, that can even be conceived. * * * *

I do not mean, nor did I ever mean, to be understood as deprecating all consideration of objections, and wishing them to be passed by unnoticed. I only deprecate the practice—not an uncommon one—of requiring that all objections shall be removed before any step is determined on: which amounts virtually (since, as Bacon observes, “not to resolve, is to resolve”) to a determination to take no step. So far, however, am I from recommending that objections should be left unnoticed, that what I have always urged has been to contemplate and *compare together* the objections on *both* sides of an alternative, and to decide accordingly.

If, therefore, any one is convinced, on such a comparison, that the evils to be apprehended from any form of Church-government that can reasonably be hoped for are really *greater* than either the existing evils or that increase of them which there is reason to apprehend, such a one is at least consistent in deprecating the efforts which many are now making towards the attainment of a Government. And though the number of these last is very considerable, and (as I remarked at the outset) has been for some time past very much on the increase, still, I do believe that, as yet, the predominant feeling among the greater number of the members of our Church, including many of the most influential, is one of strong apprehension of the danger of unwise decisions being adopted by any Church-government that might be established, and of a consequent aggravation of the existing evils.

Now at the first glance, it may be deemed paradoxical to infer from the very existence of these apprehensions, that there is no

ground for alarm;—to argue that we have the less to fear because much fear is felt by a great number, and by those whose opinions deservedly carry most weight; and that the greater in their estimation the danger is, the less it is in reality. But on a moment's reflection any one will perceive that in the present case such an inference is perfectly just.

In the case indeed of any kind of evil which no human efforts can avert,—such as an unfavourable season, an earthquake, or an inundation—the anticipations of *such* a calamity, by persons who are competent judges, afford just ground of alarm: and the greater the number of these persons, and the stronger their apprehensions, the greater we should conclude the danger to be. But it is quite the reverse in a case where the very persons who *apprehend* the danger are those with whom it rests to *avert* it, by the vigilance and exertion which are called forth by those very apprehensions.

* * * * *

With those who maintain that the present is *not the best* time,—on account of the violence of contending parties—for the restoration of a Church-government, I so far agree, that I am convinced it would have been *much better* to have taken the step eleven years ago; before the excitement caused by one of those parties had arisen; and yet better, some years earlier still, when the removal of religious disabilities first left the Church destitute of any Legislature consisting exclusively of its own members: and that, again, a still earlier period would have been preferable, when considerable attention was for a time attracted to a work on the subject by a person, then, and now, holding the office of Archdeacon.

But it is far from being sufficient,—as seems to be the notion of some persons—to show that the present is not the *fittest conceivable* occasion for taking a certain step. Besides this, it is requisite to show,—not merely that a better occasion may be *imagined*,—or that a better occasion is *past*;—that the Sybilline Books might have been purchased cheaper *some time ago*;—but that a more suitable occasion is likely to arise *hereafter*: and *how soon*; and also, that the mischief which may be *going on during the interval* will be more than compensated by the superior suitability of that future occasion; in short that it will have been worth waiting for. And in addition to all this, it is requisite to show also the probability that when this golden opportunity shall arise, men will be more *disposed to take advantage* of it than they

have heretofore appeared to be;—that they will not again fall into apathetic security and fondness for indefinite procrastination.

This last point is as needful to be established as any: for it is remarkable that those who deprecate taking any step *just now*, in these times of extraordinary excitement, did not, on those former occasions, come forward to propose taking advantage of a comparatively calmer state of things. They neither made any call, nor responded to the call made by others.

And indeed all experience seems to show—comparing the apathy on the subject which was so general at those periods, with the altered state of feeling now existing,—that a great and pressing emergency, and *nothing else*, will induce men to take any step in this matter; and that a period of dissension and perplexing difficulty, is, though not *in itself*, the most suitable occasion for such a step, yet—constituted as human nature is,—the best, because the *only* occasion on which one can hope that it will be taken.

When the valley of Martigny in Switzerland was threatened (about twenty-five years ago) with a frightful deluge from the bursting of a lake formed by a glacier which had dammed up a river, the inhabitants were for some time not sufficiently alarmed to take steps for averting the danger, by cutting channels to let off the water. They cannot therefore be said to have chosen *the best time* for commencing their operations; for had they begun earlier,—as soon as ever the dam was formed—the work would have been much easier, and probably all damage would have been prevented. As it was, they had to encounter much difficulty, and after all were but partially successful: for the undrained portion of the lake did at length burst the barrier, and considerable damage ensued; perhaps a fourth part of what *would* have taken place had things been left to themselves. But they were wise in not deferring their operations yet longer, in the hope that matters would mend spontaneously, when they saw that the evil was daily increasing. And after having mitigated in a great degree the calamity that did ensue, they took measures to provide against the like in future.

Still, however, we must expect to be told by many that, sooner or later, matters will come right spontaneously if left untouched;—that, *in time*, though we cannot tell how soon, a period of extraordinary excitement is sure to be succeeded by one of comparative calm. In the meantime it is forgotten at *what cost* such spontaneous restoration of tranquillity is usually purchased—how

much the fire will have consumed before it shall have burnt out of itself. The case is very similar to what takes place in the natural body: the anguish of acute inflammation, when left to itself, is succeeded by the calm of a mortification: a limb is amputated, or drops off; and the body—but no longer the whole body—is restored to a temporary ease, at the expense of a mutilation. Who can say that a large proportion of those who are now irrecoverably alienated from the Church, might not have been at this moment sound members of it, had timely steps been taken, not, by any departure from the principles of our Reformers, but by following more closely the track they marked out for us?

If the ultimate result of the present state of things should be—as there seems reason to apprehend—that a considerable number of persons fall away to the Church of Rome,—a far greater number to infidelity or indifference,—and again, a great number, to some dissenting sects,—we shall be told, I suppose, that the Church—that is, what remains of it—has regained tranquillity.

* * * * *

I have more than once heard the questions discussed whether Convocation—the kind of Assembly so called which formerly governed the Church, and which still, legally, though not practically, exists,—was a Body originally well-adapted for its object,—whether it would be suitable in the present age,—whether we should do well to revive it,—and whether any alterations, and what should be introduced into its constitution. I have heard, I say, these questions discussed as if they were the very ones which I have brought forward;—as if, in short, I had proposed the *revival of Convocation* in its original form, and with its original powers; and as if the point to be decided were, whether this revival would or would not be desirable.

I take this occasion therefore of reminding the reader that I am not making any such proposal, nor intend to enter at once on the discussion of any such questions. The question I have raised is—that which is obviously the preliminary one, and which ought to be first decided,—whether the Church should have a *Government*, and one consisting exclusively of *its own members*. Whether this should be termed a Convocation, or a Synod, or a Convention, or a General Assembly, or designated by whatever other name, and how it should be constituted,—these are questions which evidently should be reserved for a subsequent discussion.

To argue—however conclusively—against the restoration of the ancient Convocation, and thereupon to speak as if the whole question were decided, is manifestly irrelevant, and an utter misapprehension of my argument.

* * * * *

I have even seen the paucity of new enactments by Convocation urged as a proof of the inutility of a Church government.

The constitution, or the proceedings, of the Convocation, I will not undertake to vindicate. But it certainly is a great mistake to suppose that the proper business of a legislative body is *to make laws*. Its business is, to judge whether there be or be not, in each case, any *need* for a new enactment; and to make such enactments, then, and then only, when there *is* such need; and to frame them as far as possible in such a manner that there shall very seldom be a fresh necessity for alteration.

Most persons I conceive would regard Parliament not a less but a more efficient Legislature if it passed much fewer Acts than it does, and framed them with so much more care that there should not be (as now) a necessity for fresh legislation on the same points every Session;—for “An Act to amend an Act,” &c., in a most perplexing series.

The occasions for the exercise of a certain power may be very few, and yet the existence of the power not the less important; because when such an occasion does arise, (and it is the *more likely* to arise, if there be no provision to meet the emergency,) the consequences of not being prepared for it may be most disastrous. If any one should be so wearied with the monotonous “all’s well” of the nightly guardians of a Camp, hour after hour, and night after night, as to conclude that their service was superfluous, and accordingly to dismiss them, how much real danger, and how much unnecessary apprehension would be the result.

It is to be observed, however, that, in almost every department of life, the want of government, or of good government, where such want has *very long* existed, will often be less clearly perceived, and less complained of, than in proportion to the actual extent of the evil. When, indeed, the business of a State, or a Diocese, or a Parish, has been for some time efficiently conducted, and then negligence succeeds to activity and care, every one is struck with the amount of business left undone, or imperfectly done, and complaints are likely to arise. But where neglect has

long existed, business seems, as it were, to dispose of itself, and wear away spontaneously; like a stream whose regular channel is choked, and which accordingly diffuses itself around till it forms a stagnant marsh, without any outlet but evaporation.

If you look to any department of Government, or to any Parish or Diocese, that has long been left to the management of apathetic or inefficient persons, you will usually find that there are few or no complaints; because complaints having long since been found vain, will have long since ceased to be made: there will be no great arrears of business undone, and of applications unanswered; because business will not have been brought before those who it is known will not transact it; nor applications made, to which no answer can be hoped for: abuses, and defects, and evils of various kinds, which ought to have been prevented or remedied, men will have learned to submit to as to visitations of Providence; having been left without redress till they have at length forgotten that any redress is due, or is possible: and this stagnation will have come to be regarded as the natural state of things.

Hence, it will often happen that in a parish, for instance, where for a long time very little has been done, it will appear at first sight as if there were in fact very little to do: the spiritual wants of members of the Church not appearing to be unattended to, because many persons will have *ceased* to be members of the Church, and many others will be unconscious that they have any spiritual wants.

And in a Church accordingly that has been long without an efficient government, the want of such government will often be very inadequately perceived, from its not even occurring to men to consider whether the enormous increase of Dissent, of internal discord, and of indifference to the Church, are evils which it comes within the province of a government in any degree to prevent or mitigate."

I have thought it advisable to print in this place a letter written by me to a clergyman, in answer to an application made to me to subscribe to a testimonial to commemorate the holding of a Synod in the Diocese of Exeter.

I had no thought originally of publishing my answer, but it

accidentally found its way into the newspapers through the misapprehension of a friend.

And as it did thus become public, it is as well that a record of it should be here inserted.

“REVEREND SIR,—I have to acknowledge a letter of application from you relative to a proposed Memorial of a Synod held in the Diocese of Exeter.

But I do not understand (nor have I met with any one who could explain to me) the character and objects of the Memorial and of the Synod.

Whether it is designed to commemorate a meeting held *once for all*, or the *commencement* of a *series* of such meetings; and, again, whether the resolutions passed at that meeting are to be understood as merely the expression of the opinions of certain *individuals* claiming just whatever degree of deference may be thought due to those individuals personally; or whether these decisions claim to have a *binding* force (like that of Acts of Parliament, or Bye-laws of a Corporation,) on those who were not parties to them; and, on this latter supposition, whether such claim is extended to the *whole Church*, or is limited to *one Diocese*; leaving (and by example encouraging) the Bishop and Clergy of any other diocese to meet, if they shall think fit, and pass resolutions—perhaps very different ones¹—on the same, and on other points;—on all these, and many other important particulars, I am wholly uninformed.”

I remain, &c. &c.

¹ One Synod, for instance, might appeal, for the decision of some points to a “General Council” of the Universal Church; and another might protest against such appeal. And this difference might involve questions of great importance. For though there can be neither hope nor fear of any such council being actually assembled, many—probably most—would feel certain that if it *were* assembled, a large majority would be in *favour of the doctrines and practices of the Romish and Greek Churches*; since else, those Churches could not subsist in their present state. And the *principle*, of appealing, in religious matters, to mere *human* authority,—acknowledging that to be *inspired*—and holding ourselves ready to abandon, on such authority, our own conscientious convictions of Scripture-truth,—this is what many would feel bound most vehemently to protest against.

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